

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE INTERNAL
STRUCTURE OF AN EXPERIMENTAL "PROBLEMS OF
DEMOCRACY" CLASS IN AN ALL BLACK HIGH SCHOOL

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1970

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the students and teachers of the experimental class, I extend my sincere thanks. They not only made this study possible but also gave help whenever necessary, and made my stay with them an exciting and educational experience.

Among the many people whose aid and influence contributed to the completion of this study, the three members of my advisory committee should be singled out for special recognition. My debt of gratitude to my advisor, Hal G. Lewis, is so great it is difficult to express. He gave much help and encouragement, not only with respect to this dissertation, but throughout my doctoral program. Robert R. Sherman deserves a special debt of thanks for the help he gave, particularly in the areas of style and clarity. This paper is better because of his criticisms. Without the aid of Solon T. Kimball, this study could not have been done. He made it possible for me to become part of the experimental class and gave invaluable assistance throughout the project. The extent of my indebtedness to him is difficult to acknowledge.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

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August, 1970

Chairman: Hal G. Lewis

Major Department: Foundations of Education

This study reports what happened, under experimental conditions, to the members of a problems of American democracy class. The focus of the inquiry was the internal structure of the classroom group as it developed and changed over time. The class was part of an all black high school in north central Florida and consisted of 24 twelfth-grade pupils, 2 black teachers (in succession), and a white college professor. The class was in operation from September 2, 1969, to January 29, 1970.

The experimental class was concerned with a comparative study of the local black community in its past and present forms. Data were collected on this subject by the students through observation, interviewing, and recording; information about other cultural groups was provided by the instructors. The class was operated according to a set of assumptions which included the beliefs that the student should have some control over the direction of the class and that voluntary participation by the students was the only means by which class activities could be carried out successfully.

The data for this study were collected by participant observation. The class was observed daily and each pupil was interviewed three times. In addition, each of the three teachers was interviewed at least once. The data were analyzed in accordance with the theory and methodology of event analysis. This frame of reference involves tracing the interactions among individuals and between individuals and groups. Organized human groups are viewed as social systems existing in time and space and in a particular environment. A social system is seen as being made up of a number of interrelated components, which for the purpose of analysis can be isolated and described and their relationships to one another made explicit. The events as they were recorded in the experimental class were analyzed in terms of the following interrelated variables: the nature of the relationships existing among the personnel of the class; the types of activities engaged in; the topics of concern; the amount of time between planning and completing a class project; and the external environment.

It was found that the experimental class was characterized by a high level of student autonomy and involvement. In the absence of externally imposed controls, a system of internal control grew out of the interest and involvement of the students in the subject matter of the class. Over the term, the class became increasingly self-directing in carrying out activities. The student group controlled the behavior of its members so that the teacher did not need to function in a custodial role.

Most significantly, the experimental group was able to maintain its autonomy in the face of a series of impingements from the external environment. The most severe external interferences were: (1) a

school-wide student strike which resulted in the loss of 11 school days; (2) the impending desegregation of the local school system and the simultaneous phasing out of the high school of which the experimental class was a part, which meant the students would have to transfer to a new school in the middle of their senior year; (3) a change of teachers. The second black teacher did not behave in ways conducive to student control of the direction of class activities. The student group maintained its independence by rejecting this man as a teacher and incorporating him into the group as a peer. At the end of the experiment there was virtually no student-teacher relationship existing within the group. Nevertheless, because control was internal, class activities continued to be carried out.

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM, METHODOLOGY, AND THEORY

The Problem

This study reports what happened, under experimental conditions, to the members of a twelfth grade problems of American democracy class in an all black high school. The inquiry focused on the interaction, or relational system, of the class as it developed over time and space and within a particular environmental setting. Through an examination of this system, the internal structure of the classroom group was defined.

The class was conducted within the framework of certain basic theories or assumptions regarding social control and pedagogy. The researcher set out to understand the nature of the relationships among the personnel of the class as they were connected with the fundamental assumptions upon which the activities, organization, and management of the class were based. Hence, the principal question to be answered in this study was: What patterns of interaction or internal structure developed in the classroom group as its activities and processes were carried on according to certain fundamental assumptions regarding classroom control and pedagogical practice?

The Nature of the Class

The subject of concern for the members of this class was their own community. It was intended that the problems in the local community

serve as a microcosm for the problems in the larger society. The students performed as anthropological field workers in carrying out this study. [Data were collected from the community through observation, interviewing, and recording.] They were then systematized and reported to the class. [Here the information was analyzed, discussed, and related to other data brought out in class activities.]

A major characteristic of the experimental class was its comparative perspective. It was thought that, through a comparison with other communities, a deeper understanding of the pupils' own community would be the result. Information was supplied by the teachers about other cultural groups. This information was related to the data brought in by the students.

The regular personnel of the class included 24 black students, 2 black teachers (in succession), 1 white teacher, and the researcher (white). Other relevant information about the actors in this group will be presented in Chapter II.

The experimental program was scheduled to continue one full school year from September, 1969, until June, 1970. However, due to the Federal court decisions relating to immediate school desegregation in the South, the class was terminated at the end of January, since the school of which it was a part was closed.

Pedagogical Assumptions

Pedagogically speaking, it was assumed that the teacher should create a situation in which the learners could become actively involved in class projects. This view of the function of the teacher is related to a theory which holds that learning is not a mere passive absorption of

predetermined subject matter, but an active, dynamic process in which the learner both affects and is affected by his environment.

The goal was not the acquisition of facts and information as an end in itself. Rather, it was intended that the students become skilled in some of the processes by which information can be collected and ordered into new understandings. More specifically, certain skills were transmitted so that the student could accumulate new information and learn to go beyond these data into comparative analysis through dealing with knowledge about his own life and times in relation to the past and to other life styles.

It was believed that the previously mentioned assumptions could most effectively be made operational under conditions which allow the student to pursue the natural history method of collecting and organizing information. This process puts the learner in the role of an active participant who gathers, synthesizes, and analyzes "live" information. It requires him to look at the phenomena of his own life in the present as "the outcome of a process in which many systematically intertwined factors are operating."¹ It means that he must attempt to construct his own narrative of history through examining the interrelationships of events in the past and the present, and investigating the meaning of the changes which have occurred over time.

The above mentioned theories of teaching and learning were manifested in the activities of the class. The students were continually collecting data through observation, interviewing, and recording and

¹Solon T. Kimball and James E. McClellan, Education and the New America, p. 300.

they reported to the class. In order to accomplish these tasks it was necessary to make decisions relating to the relevancy or irrelevancy of the data for the problem under consideration. The pupils were faced with the responsibility of ordering and arranging the information so that it would be intelligible to their classmates and teachers. During and after reporting their findings, the students were generally given the opportunity to discuss any aspect or implication of the subject matter in which they indicated interest. Thus, these pupils were continually manipulating and reconstructing information dealt with in the activities relating to the class.

Since information was collected about community life in the past as well as the present, opportunities for comparative analysis were abundant. Moreover, comparative thinking was encouraged by information presented by the teachers and through other media on contrasting cultural groups. This information was not presented so the students might memorize it, but in order to clarify and facilitate the research activities of the students.

Congruent with the discipline of natural history mentioned above is the assumption that the problems existing within a society bear an intrinsic relationship to one another and to the past, and that problems cannot be seen nor dealt with adequately in isolation from one another or their antecedents. Hence, it was believed that class activities should be arranged and carried out in such a manner that the interconnections between the past and the present and within the present could be discerned. In other words, major problems and issues should be viewed as part of a coherent pattern or as one important

component of a larger picture in which the temporal and comparative aspects are the foci of inquiry.

It was hoped by collecting information in the manner described above that the students would begin to develop a sense of history rather than merely mastering certain facts about the past. That is, it was assumed that history would become more relevant to the students as they validated it through the history of their own families; that it would become more meaningful as they saw the relationship of their parents and grandparents to events occurring in the past. In addition, the activities involving a study of family and community history were based on the belief that it is important that the history of ordinary people be recorded, and that one way to preserve this rich folk history * is to train people in recording.

The preceding discussion implies that it was assumed that all * knowledge is tentative and that the subject matter of schooling should reflect this characteristic. That is, subject matter should be treated as data and as people's perceptions of the world rather than as absolute reality or immutable truth. These assumptions found expression in the activities and areas of emphases of the class. Data were collected and organized by the students rather than "truth" being transmitted by the teacher. In addition, much of the data gathered came from other individuals and related to their outlooks and perceptions. Finally, the comparative approach utilized by the teachers emphasized the idea that different groups have differing beliefs and traditions.

Finally, it was assumed that the natural history method could be * successfully employed by the students to study their own community. Since each student was connected to the community through various ties it was believed that he could study this social system in an effective

and productive manner by collecting data which portrayed it in both its present and past forms. It should be said at this point, however, that it was not assumed these students were in any way a representative sample of the entire black community. Since the class included some of the most academically able students in the senior class and in view of the fact that all the members were in the last year of high school, it was recognized that this was a rather select group.

Assumptions Relating to Control

The accomplishment of the educational goals inherent in the pedagogical assumptions implied the implementation of a particular theory of social control. The theory employed in this class is one, which among other places has been developed by anthropologists working in field situations. In the discipline of applied anthropology, this set of principles underlies much of the current literature relating to efforts to bring about social change.² The basic principle of this theoretical framework is that in working with a group of people, constructive change can most effectively and efficiently be brought about when those affected by the change are genuinely involved in the process and support it. Applied to the classroom, this theory holds that the students should be able to exert some control over the structure and processes of the class.

In order to gain such participation and support on the part of the students it was felt that the nature and purposes of the class should be explained and discussed frequently, and that the pupils should

²One example of such a work is Arthur H. Niehoff, A Casebook of Social Change.

be given opportunities to offer suggestions for improvement and criticisms of the class. In other words, it was assumed that if the students were informed as much as possible as to what the instructors were about and were provided with channels by which feedback from them could be obtained and utilized by the teachers, the pupils would be more willing and able to contribute to the progress of the group. Feedback channels were provided through frequent consideration of the progress and goals of the group in class discussion and through interviews conducted by the researcher.

It should be obvious at this point that part of this theory of control is that forced participation simply is not feasible. Related to this is the fact that the nature of the goals of the class rendered it practically impossible to accomplish them without voluntary involvement. Hence, although the relationships in the class were based upon the idea, as stated by the instructors and observable in the ongoing activities of the group, that each student had the right to actively participate and to express himself on any issue, he also had the privilege to remain silent and uninvolved at any time and on any matter.

This theory of control as it applies to the classroom culminates in the assumption that in the educational setting systems of interpersonal relationships and ways of interacting should be established so that the necessity of custodial care can be kept at the absolute minimum. In lieu of the supervisory relationship in which the teacher continually directs and controls the actions of the students, the control of behavior should exist within the student group. That is, conditions should be such that a system of control can develop in which

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power
the group controls the behavior of its members rather than authority being imposed from without.

Collection of Data

The procedures by which the data were collected for this study were a combination of participant observation and "lurking"³ at the periphery of the ongoing activities in such a way that while the observer was present, the situation did not require her to interact extensively with others. The manner in which these two techniques of data collection were combined will be explained in the following paragraphs.

The researcher conducted two interviews with each of the pupils during the twenty weeks in which the class was in operation. These interviews were both a means of obtaining information for research purposes and of providing feedback to the teachers from the pupils. Another series of interviews was held by the observer with the students a few months after the class was terminated. Interviews were also carried out by the observer with both black teachers and the white teacher. Through this procedure the meanings and interpretations of the events in the class from the perspective of individual students and teachers were obtained.⁴

The observer participated with the teachers in planning most of the class activities and she addressed the class as a group once. She sometimes participated in class discussions and sat in on small group

³Donald A. Strickland and Lester E. Schlesinger, "'Lurking' as a Research Method," pp. 248-9.

⁴Howard D. Becker and Elanthe Geer, "Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Data," pp. 269 & 273.

activities. However, most of the time during actual class activities the researcher engaged in "lurking" as described above. The reason for her limited interaction with other personnel of the group is that the kind of complex behavior and interaction which occurs in the classroom and the limited time of class meetings required a great deal of detailed recording if enough data were to be obtained to adequately delineate the internal structure of the class as it developed through time.

In summary, the researcher was a member of the classroom group, but held a special position as one who is there to observe and record. This role places one squarely in the position of a bonafide participant observer,⁵ but in actual fact the researcher was often too involved in recording activities to participate in group activities. Nonetheless, being in the social situation, albeit at its periphery, did provide the researcher with some of the major benefits of full participant observation such as a firsthand and full report of events and interactions of the group. This, combined with the interviews, provided a comprehensive and direct knowledge of the activities of the group which could not have otherwise been obtained.

Observation was also done by the researcher in a senior English class at the all black high school and in a senior social studies class at another high school in the community. A period of three weeks was spent in each class. Differences between these classes and the experimental class were readily apparent. However, a comparison of the

⁵Ibid., p. 269.

experimental group with one of these classes is beyond the scope of this study. These observations served mainly to help clarify the research problem and to aid in identifying important variables in the classroom.

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In conclusion, these methods of gathering data are congruent with the nature of the project. That is, this study was concerned with understanding a social system and its relationships to certain conditions rather than testing hypotheses. In such a study the researcher generally does not know enough about the situation to set up a scheme of predetermined problems to investigate by isolating and measuring the effects of specified variables. Hence, it is necessary to be able to continually revise one's thinking as the nature of the organization one is observing becomes more explicit. The techniques of participant observation and "lurking" provide the needed flexibility for the researcher who must constantly redesign his plan of action as new data is discovered.⁶

not test
hypotheses
but
understand
social
system
variables

flexibility
participant
observation
method

Methodology and Theory

Event Analysis

The methodology used to interpret and analyze the data gathered in this study has been developed in the field of applied anthropology and is called "event analysis." Stated simply, this procedure focuses on the order or sequence of action among individuals in organized groups as they interact with one another in activities within an environment. It is especially valuable in dealing with "living" systems because

⁶Ibid., pp. 268-70.

it preserves the time dimension and carefully notes movement in space as interconnections in behavior are traced in relation to these and other conditions. Thus, "the factors of time, space, activity, persons, and conditions are all accounted for and taken into consideration in analysis."⁷

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A major advantage of this methodology is that it can be used to study groups of all sizes. Comments made by Kimball and Pearsall in an article several years ago both affirm this assertion and point to other advantages of event analysis:

It is our experience that event analysis may be combined with taxonomic principles as an effective and efficient method for delineating both small and large social systems and their interrelationships within the community There is every reason to believe all ongoing events irrespective of the magnitude or depth of values affected, are amenable to this type of analysis.⁸

This methodology has already been successfully transferred to the study of small groups and yielded productive results. It has been applied to the study of the primitive family, of the band, and of the primitive community.⁹ Researchers studying modern communities as well as individual institutions in such communities have utilized this method.¹⁰ Industry has been the setting for a great deal of research

⁷Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community, p. 224.

⁸Solon T. Kimball and Marion Pearsall, "Event Analysis as an Approach to Community Study," p. 63.

⁹Solon T. Kimball and John H. Provinse, "Navaho Social Organization in Land Use Planning."

¹⁰Solon T. Kimball, "An Alabama Town Surveys Its Health Needs."

using event analysis in the modern community and many productive results have come out of this activity.¹¹ Finally, event analysis has been applied in educational settings in a few research projects which will be reviewed later. However, it has not been applied systematically to the intensive study of the social system of the classroom.

The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework which encompasses the methodology utilized in this study was first stated by Elliot D. Chapple with the collaboration of Conrad M. Arensberg¹² in the 1940's and since that time has been elaborated and refined by others in the field of applied anthropology. This theory suggests that:

Beneath the symbolism of human speech and the norms and meanings of human culture, patterns of social action, made up oftenest of recurrent events in time of interaction of pairs of persons or sets of one person in the lead of several, occur in nature, are subject to third party observation (as well as description and introspection by the actors) and that these are the independent subject matter of speech, symbol, and meaning, including feeling, of human culture and society.¹³

Such interpersonal action referred to above is central in the group life and institutional structuring of human affairs. The dynamic quality of culture rests upon the interconnections of events occurring

¹¹Examples of such research include Conrad M. Arensberg and Douglas McGregor, "Determination of Morale in an Industrial Company," Alexander Horsfall and Conrad M. Arensberg, "Teamwork and Productivity in a Shoe Factory."

¹²Elliot D. Chapple (with the collaboration of Conrad M. Arensberg), "Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interactions of Individuals."

¹³Conrad M. Arensberg and Geoffrey Tootell, "Plant Sociology: Real Discoveries and New Problems, p. 334.

over time and space which consist of interactions among and between persons. Thus, since this theory is bound to time and preserves the dynamism of social life as it treats process for itself, it provides the basis necessary to understand and analyze the movement within and between social systems.¹⁴

Time
Provides
basis
for a
thorough
understanding
of the
relationships
between
social
systems

Interaction Theory

Part of the theory introduced above involves the particular dynamics of the interaction between specified individuals. Chapple and Coon¹⁵ discuss this aspect of the theory from the standpoint that each person learns to interact in an orderly manner with others due to the necessity that he adjust his actions to those of others with whom he comes in contact in the course of social living. The order in which people learn to act is of great importance in the development of human relations and the delineation of this order over time reveals both the structures and processes of group life.

Interaction is defined as happening "when an action or actions on the part of one individual are followed by one or more actions on the part of another individual."¹⁶ This theory assumes that events involving interaction can be described in terms of the order of action among individuals and that the relations among human beings of which these interactions are an expression are orderly and constant within definable limits.¹⁷

¹⁴Ibid., p. 336.

¹⁵Elliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, pp. 34-7.

¹⁶Chapple and Arensberg, "Measuring Human Relations," p. 24.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 46.

Two basic types of interaction events are distinguished within the framework of this theory. Pair events are those involving interaction between two individuals in which one of them originates the action to which the other responds or terminates the action. Set events involve those interactions in which one person habitually originates action to a number of others and are important in building up the relations of individuals in institutions.¹⁸

The Classroom as a Social System

The frame of reference utilized in this study views any given human group as a system which is:

. . . composed of a number of individuals united by ordered relations, existing in time and space, each individual responding in a customary manner toward others with the system (or to outsiders or events which impinge on the system), the nature of the interactions (ordered relations and customs) being an expression of the values affected by the situation or event.¹⁹

Thus, the theoretical principles which underlie event analysis enabled the researcher to view the classroom group as comprising patterns of interaction and customary behaviors all of which give expression to the beliefs the members hold about what they do. It allowed the class to be placed in a context as a subsystem of the work component²⁰ of the

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 24-8

¹⁹Arensberg and Kimball, Culture and Community, p. 270.

²⁰Wayne C. Gordon, in The Social System of the High School, identifies three subsystems as the foci of action in the high school. These include two belonging to the formal structure, the work segment and the extra-class activities, and the informal or clique system.

high school which in turn is part of the even larger social systems of the entire local educational system and the community. In short, the classroom group was seen as a social system which is related in various ways to other systems, large and small, sharing similar characteristics.

Review of Related Literature

A careful search was carried on for literature of a general nature relating to this study. No general body of literature was found, but relevant research relating to three important aspects of this project was located. The three areas which this review of literature cover are classroom observation, the use of event analysis in the educational setting, and problems of custodial care in the modern school.

Classroom Observation

During the past few decades, relationships in the classroom have become an increasing concern to many educational researchers. Several theories and related methodologies have been worked out and used as a framework from which to observe and analyze classroom behavior. Some of the most significant of these systems are reviewed in the following paragraphs after which the major differences between these methodologies and event analysis are indicated.

Systematic studies of spontaneous behavior in the classroom were conducted by Anderson²¹ and his co-workers in the 1940's. The central

²¹Harold H. Anderson and Helen M. Brewer, Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities. I: Dominative and Socially Integrative Behavior of Kindergarten Teachers. Harold H. Anderson and Joseph E. Brewer, Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities. II: Effects of Teachers'

purpose of this research was to analyze the relationships between pupil behavior and the degrees of "dominative" and "integrative" behavior on the part of the teacher. Teacher-student interaction was analyzed in terms of small units of behavior and these units of social behavior were classified into specified categories. Teacher contacts with students were grouped in such a way as to show degrees of dominative and integrative behavior. Examples of teacher behavior labeled dominative are direct refusal, disapproval, blame, threats, lecturing, and calling to attention. Examples of behavior described as integrative are approval, thanks, acceptance of the self-initiated behavior of a child, and admitting one's own ignorance. Twenty-nine categories of pupil behavior were developed in connection with the teacher behavior categories.²²

Another system which has been used for recording and analyzing behavior in the classroom is Interaction Process Analysis which was developed by Robert F. Bales in the early 1950's. This method can be used to study behavior in any small group and has been adapted for use in observing classroom groups and subgroups within the class as a whole. The method consists of classifying the actions of the individual group members into 12 specified categories. These categories are

Dominative and Integrative Contacts on Children's Classroom Behavior.
 Harold H. Anderson, Joseph E. Brewer, and Mary F. Reed, Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities. III: Follow-up Studies of the Effects of Dominative and Integrative Contacts on Children's Behavior.

²²Harold H. Anderson and Joseph E. Brewer, Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities. II. pp. 17-31.

descriptive of particular kinds of interactive behavior. Examples of categories are agrees, gives suggestions, asks for opinion, and shows antagonism.²³

Influenced by the work of Anderson and others, Ned Flanders and his associates have developed and refined a model for observing, recording, and analyzing verbal behavior in the classroom which is widely used at the present time. This model is based upon the assumption that "verbal communication constitutes an adequate sample of the teachers total influence pattern."²⁴ Thus, no nonverbal behavior is recorded.

In Flanders' model, all verbal behavior on the part of the teacher is grouped into seven descriptive categories, three of which indicate direct influence, while the remainder refer to indirect influence. Direct influence consists of those statements by the teacher that restrict freedom of action by focusing attention on a problem, interjecting teacher authority, or both. Examples of this kind of influence include lecturing, giving directions, criticizing, and justifying one's own use of authority. Indirect influence consists of those statements of the teacher that expand the student's freedom of action by encouraging his verbal participation and initiative such as asking questions, accepting and clarifying feelings of a student, and praising or encouraging a pupil's response.²⁵ This system also includes three other categories;

²³John T. Kirby, Jr., An Analysis of Certain Aspects of Perception and Behavior Among Principals While Enrolled in a Leadership Course, p. 13.

²⁴Ned M. Flanders, Teacher Influence, Pupil Attitudes and Achievement, p. 7.

²⁵Ibid., p. 9.

two relate to student verbal behavior, and the third covers short periods of silence and talk that is confused or noisy. Measures of direct and indirect influence are correlated with academic achievement and pupil attitudes.

Another model for classroom observation is that formulated by B. Othanel Smith in collaboration with the work of others.²⁶ Smith's model, like that of Flanders, is concerned only with the content of verbal behavior. However, while Flanders' system is based upon psychological theories, Smith is concerned with analyzing verbal behavior only in terms of its logical operations. Once identified, these operations are evaluated according to a logical model which includes rules of validity and correctness such as procedures for defining terms, rules for inductive and deductive reasoning, and principles from the field of semantics. In short, Smith is concerned only with verbally executed logical performances so that the researcher can determine how well a teacher "is able to move about logically in a network of ideas and to monitor the performance of logical operations."²⁷

Arno Bellack and his co-workers have developed another system for observing and analyzing classroom behavior in terms of language.²⁸ This system includes certain categories which describe the verbal performances of teachers and students. These include structuring moves which serve the function of setting the context for subsequent behavior, soliciting

²⁶B. Othanel Smith and Milton O. Meux, A Study of the Logic of Teaching, p. 3.

²⁷Ibid., p. 60.

²⁸Arno A. Bellack, Herbert M. Kliebard, Ronald T. Hyman, and Frank L. Smith, Jr., The Language of the Classroom.

moves which are designed to elicit a verbal or physical response, responding moves which bear a reciprocal relationship to soliciting, and reacting moves which are occasioned by the other three moves, but are not directly elicited by them.

As part of a larger study Bob Burton Brown²⁹ has developed an instrument, The Teacher Practices Observation (T.P.O.R.), for use by untrained observers to look at teacher behavior in relation to philosophical and educational beliefs. The T.P.O.R. is designed to measure the amount of agreement or disagreement of teacher practices with experimentalism as set forth in the philosophy of John Dewey. This inventory includes 62 items of teacher practices, 31 of which are in agreement and 31 of which are in disagreement with Dewey's philosophy of experimentalism.

The techniques for assessing classroom behavior mentioned previously are based upon models which involve predetermined descriptive categories or the enumeration of attributes or both. In contrast, the natural history method of which event analysis is a part is not congruent with such tidy models. The operations the researcher performs on his data when utilizing event analysis will not allow him to impose descriptive labels on the research situations nor be content with a listing of traits. That is, rather than bringing an already established taxonomical system to bear on the data, the basic purpose of event analysis is to understand the classroom group as well as any other organization

²⁹Bob Burton Brown, The Experimental Mind in Education.

as a complex system in terms of its patterns of interaction and behavior and its relationship to its environment, both internal and external, within the dimensions of time and space. In view of this, the researcher often has to wait until he is in the field situation before he can determine what problems need to be dealt with and what questions it is important to answer.

Most of the methodologies for analyzing interaction in the classroom which enjoy widespread use today are basically concerned with analyzing the content of verbal communication. Since the methodology used in this study focuses primarily on the order of action among individuals, the analysis of language content is subordinate to considerations of the structure and process of interaction. That is, those who work within the limits of this frame of reference are interested in the analysis of the content of language simply as a rough way of understanding the nature of the relationships between people.³⁰ Instead of assuming that verbal behavior represents an adequate sample of the dynamics of groups life, "words are regarded as symbols referring to the interactions of individuals"³¹ occurring within a particular environmental setting. Hence, the "meaning" of verbal communication has its referent in action and a particular context.

This brief comparison of event analysis with other methodologies is not in any way meant to denigrate the contributions of these other frames of reference to educational theory and practice. It is recognized that these contributions have been considerable. Rather, it is to

³⁰Chapple and Arensberg, "Measuring Human Relations," p. 108.

³¹Ibid., p. 95.

demonstrate that this study can make additional contributions to the understanding of relationships in the classroom because the use of event analysis provides a fresh perspective on the situation. It is also meant to point out that the theory and methodology of a research project is interdependent with the operations one wishes to perform on the data. The theory and methodology of this study point to a treatment of the data which leads to an understanding of the classroom in terms of the variables which are universal in all human groupings--actors, interactions, time, space, activities, and environment--and seeks to delineate it as a dynamic and moving social system existing within and in relation to other systems.

Event Analysis in the Educational Setting

The use of the techniques, methods, and theory involved in this study in institutional settings other than education has already been discussed.³² It remains to review the relevant literature relating to school situations.

A doctoral dissertation completed by Jacquetta Hill Burnett³³ in 1964 utilized this theory and methodology in order to delineate, describe, and analyze that part of the student subsystem of a small rural high school having to do with extra-class activities. The activities subsystem was examined in terms of the interpersonal relations of the students with each other and with the teacher-sponsors. This author

³²Supra., p. 11-12.

³³Jacquetta Hill Burnett, A Participant Observation Study of a Sociocultural Sub-System of the Students in a Small Rural High School.

discovered that, unlike the student activities segment, the relationships which predominated in the classroom were those which placed the student in a subordinate position in which his behavior was controlled by the teacher, and that interaction among the students in the classroom setting was devaluated by the teacher. Burnett suggests the desirability for research which focuses on the interaction systems within the classroom. She hopes that this research will lead to the establishment of other kinds of relationships in the classroom than the supervisory one since this superordinate-subordinate relationship provides very little of the cooperative teamwork based upon specialization labor which is so often demanded in an industrialized society. Burnett feels that the consultant-client relationship already present in the activities program provides the possibility of an appropriate model in the classroom.

A similar study was done more recently by Colin Balmer,³⁴ who investigated the student activities subsystem of an all black high school located in north central Florida. The high school Balmer investigated is the one in which the present study was conducted. Using participant observation to collect his data, and event and interaction analysis to assemble and interpret it, Balmer focused upon the nature of the relationships among the students and between the students and the professional staff. He discovered that the extra-class activities were, in the main, mere extensions of classroom activities in which teachers

³⁴Colin John Balmer, The Student Culture of a Negro High School and Its Implications for the Extracurriculum.

generally maintained control and, hence, prevented the emergence of a viable student social organization. Balmer's study also indicates the need for more study of the nature of the interactional system in the classroom with the purpose of conceptualizing alternative ways of ordering relationships.

Custodial Care

Since one of the major ideas upon which the experimental class was based is that preoccupation with custodial care in the educational setting is a major obstacle to learning, it is necessary to review some recent literature which confirms the assumption that this is indeed a genuine problem in modern education.

An empirical study of the educational setting in inner city areas conducted by Elizabeth Eddy³⁵ reveals the problems of custodial care in many of America's public schools. Dr. Eddy questions whether it is possible to meet the educational needs of children from backgrounds different from that of the middle class in the existing educational system. The analysis of data which were collected from observations in several classrooms reveals that the amount of time devoted by the teacher to supervising and attempting to control the behavior of the students is considerable. As Dr. Eddy states, "the present structure of the school in the slum neighborhood is one which all too often is conducive to the custodial care of the child rather than his education."³⁶

³⁵Elizabeth M. Eddy, Walk the White Line: A Profile in Urban Education.

³⁶Ibid., p. 170.

Similar findings are presented in a more recent book by Dr. Eddy.³⁷ The study reported in this book was concerned with the induction of 23 first year teachers into certain schools in New York City. It was discovered that much of the socialization of these novices on the part of administrators, supervisors, and veteran teachers relates to the importance of rigidly controlling and supervising the students in order to maintain the kind of hierarchy and order implicit in a bureaucratic system.

A great many popular books which report personal accounts of teaching experiences in inner city schools also reveal the emphasis upon supervision and control of the students in the public schools. Some well-known authors who have recently published this kind of work are James Herndon, Bel Kaufman, Herbert Kohl, and Jonathan Kozol.³⁸ All of these works suggest the need to change the traditional ways of ordering relationships and manners of interacting in the classroom as well as in other aspects of the educational setting.

In summary, this review of the literature implied the rationale upon which the justification of this study as a worthwhile effort is based. The differences between event analysis and other methods of analyzing classroom behavior were made explicit in order to point out the possible contribution its use can make in this area. Secondly, both the Balmer and Burnett studies and the literature reviewed in the section on custodial care reveal the need for additional research in

³⁷Elizabeth M. Eddy, Becoming a Teacher.

³⁸James Herndon, The Way It Spoized to Be. Bel Kaufman, Up the Down Stair Case. Herbert Kohl, 36 Children. Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age.

the area of the ordering of interaction in the classroom which was the primary focus of this study. Finally, the application of this method of analysis for the first time over an extended period in the social setting of the classroom provides the basis upon which additional research can be carried out.

Organization of Chapters

The present chapter has accomplished four things: it has specified the basic purpose of the study; it has made explicit the procedures and methodology for collecting and analyzing data; it has set out the theoretical framework within which the data were interpreted; and it has presented a review of relevant literature which provided a perspective from which to indicate the value of this study.

Chapter II provides information concerning the setting, both internal and external, in which the experimental group operated. It also includes a description of the personnel and background of the class.

Chapter III is a summary of the activities engaged in by the pupils of the experimental class over the term.

Chapters IV through VII report on the analysis of the internal structure of the classroom. Each of the four chapters deals with one of the four time periods into which the report is broken.

Chapter VIII presents the experimental class as seen by the students. Data from the interviews are summarized and analyzed in order to get at the pupils' point of view.

The final chapter contains a summary of the findings on the internal structure of the group. Congruencies and relationships among the

researcher's analysis of the group, the pupil's view of the class, and the basic assumptions underlying the class are indicated.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPERIMENTAL CLASS: SETTING, PERSONNEL, AND BACKGROUND

This chapter presents a description of the environment in which the research was conducted. After a brief discussion of College City,¹ the community in which the project took place, some of the history and characteristics of George Washington Carver High School, the educational institution of which the experimental class was a part, are presented. Following this outline of the general features of the school is a description of the classroom in which the experimental course was taught and the personnel who were involved in the undertaking.

The events leading to the formation of the class are dealt with after the physical and social settings have been delineated. The researcher's entrance into the field is included in this information on the history and origin of the class. Finally, a typical day in the class is described.

College City

College City is located in north central Florida. Its approximate population in the summer of 1970 was 63,818 with an additional 14,724 living within the urban area, but outside of the city limits.² Close to

¹All names of places and persons in this report are pseudonyms, except the name of the state.

²These are preliminary figures released by the United States Bureau of the Census in June, 1970.

20 percent of the total population were members of the black race.

The major distinguishing feature of the community is a state university. This university is the largest one in the Southeast with a student body numbering in excess of 20,000. A large portion of the wealth and population of the city is accounted for by this institution.

Much of the countryside surrounding College City is utilized for agricultural purposes including cattle, hogs, peanuts, tobacco, winter vegetables, and fruits. College City is the major trading center for farmers in the area. Other important economic enterprises in the community include light industries and distribution services.

George Washington Carver High School

George Washington Carver High School traces its history from a school founded by the Freedman's Bureau just after the end of the Civil War, but until 1957 it had always been associated with an elementary school. From September, 1957, when Carver High was moved to a new building on a new site, until January 29, 1970, when it was permanently closed as a result of the complete desegregation of the county school system, it functioned as a junior-senior high school including grades 7 through 12 only. With the exception of a handful of students who attended the predominately white secondary schools in College City, all black school children within these grade levels who lived in the urban area of the community, as well as many who lived in some of the small towns nearby, attended Carver High School. The year the present study was made, the student population of the school was about 1200. There were about 40 people on the teaching and administrative staffs.

The teaching staff was racially mixed, but included about three times as many blacks as it did whites.

The original plan of the local school officials was to phase out Carver High School as an academic high school in September, 1970. This plan was formulated in response to the 1969 Federal court decision which ordered an immediate end to dual school systems in the South. The school was to be transformed into a combination vocational school and experimental middle school. A new senior high school and two new junior high schools were to be completed by the time the desegregation move took place. Those new schools plus the predominately white senior high school and two junior high schools already in existence were to serve as the educational facilities for virtually all of the secondary school age youth in College City.

There existed strong sentiment in the black community in opposition to closing Carver High School; this resulted in a conflict between the black community and the local school officials. Many black parents and students expressed the view that the city should be zoned so that Carver could remain open as an integrated high school. This struggle culminated in a school-wide student strike at Carver during which time an overwhelming majority of the pupils remained out of school. This walkout began on Tuesday, November 25, 1969, and lasted through Thursday, December 11, 1969. The time period included 11 school days and the Thanksgiving holidays. During the school days many of the students gathered in the Carver area and marched en masse to various parts of the city. They generally terminated their march at the school board building. Most of the other members of the black community supported this movement;

some of the adults worked with the pupils and provided such things as food and transportation when necessary.

The efforts to keep Carver High School open were unsuccessful. Moreover, due to a Federal court decision handed down in the second week of January, 1970, Carver was closed on the 29th day of that month instead of the following June. After this time most of Carver's former pupils were transported by bus to the predominately white secondary schools in other parts of the city. Since the new schools were not yet constructed and the existing ones already had too many students, overcrowding was a serious problem. Those students who had attended Carver, but lived in rural areas were transferred to the newly desegregated schools in their respective areas.

While in existence, Carver High School was located in the black community, but not in one of the ghetto areas. The black residential neighborhoods, which flank the south and east sides of the site which was formerly the school grounds of Carver, can be described as suburban areas. They consist mostly of single family dwellings on grassy lawns with a few modern apartment complexes.

The school was located on a spacious 53-acre site. The grounds were well kept, and on the front and south sides of the building there were shrubs of various kinds and palm, pine, and oak trees. In front of the school was a paved parking lot for staff and guests. There were athletic fields on the north and east sides of the site which contained a baseball diamond, a basketball court, and a tennis court.

The green school building was a single story structure which faced west. The administrative offices were located in the front of

the building. Most of the classes were conducted in three wings which were perpendicular to the administrative suite. These wings included the junior high school classroom area on the south end of the building, the athletic, vocational, and music rooms on the north end, and the senior high classrooms in the center. The classroom in which the experimental course was taught was the only one not located in one of these wings. This room was in front of the senior high wing between the front entrance of the building and an administrative office.

The Class

Physical Setting

The physical arrangements in the room in which the experimental class met are shown in Figure 1. This room was somewhat larger than the standard classroom; it measured approximately 50 feet by 20 feet. It was well lighted and adequately heated in cold weather by a central hot water boiler. The walls were painted green, with the outer one being taken up mostly by windows which extended from three feet above the floor to the ceiling. These windows afforded a view of the front yard of the school. There was a platform about one foot high and five feet deep extending along one side wall upon which stood a file cabinet and a set of maps. The side opposite the windows was next to the hall and had a door to the outside on both ends. The chalk board and bulletin boards were on this wall in front of which were a trash can, the teacher's desk and chair, and a podium. Along the other wall there were cabinets for books and other materials.

The students' desks were arranged in three sections. Two rows of five desks faced the chalk board. On one side of the room, which will

Key to Figure 1





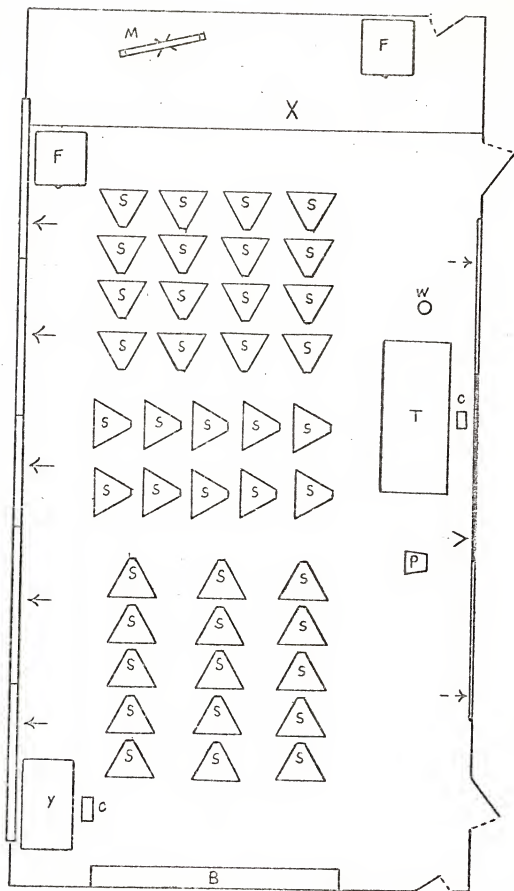
B	Book Shelves and Cabinets
C	Chairs
F	File Cabinets
M	Floor Map
P	Podium
S	Students' Desks
T	Teacher's Desk
W	Wastebasket
X	Platform Area
Y	Table
	Doors
	Windows
	Bulletin Boards
	Chalk Board

FIGURE 1 (Opposite)

DIAGRAM OF CLASSROOM
(Not Drawn to Scale)



be called the right side (as seen from the teacher's perspective in front of the room), were four rows of four desks which faced the left side of the room. On the left side were three rows of five desks facing the right side.

History and Origin

The experimental class was originally the idea of a white anthropology professor, Dr. Samuel Kline, who was employed at the nearby state university. Dr. Kline, through past connections with research done at Carver High, knew some of the staff members. In the spring of 1969 he talked with Mrs. Willis, who was the assistant principal in charge of curriculum at Carver, about starting an experimental class. Mr. Walter Riley, who taught social studies at the school, was brought into the discussion and indicated that he would like to be a part of the class Dr. Kline had envisioned. The next step was to obtain the approval of the appropriate supervisory personnel at the county education office for such a project; this was carried out without major difficulties.

Meanwhile, during the spring of 1969, the researcher was invited by Dr. Kline to become a part of the experimental class. She was at that time working on her doctoral degree in educational foundations at the nearby state university and was a student in one of Dr. Kline's classes.

At the end of the summer two meetings were held to make some tentative plans for the class. Mr. Riley, Dr. Kline, a member of the research staff for the county schools, and the researcher attended the first meeting. The researcher was not present at the second meeting,

but the other three people were.

Prior to this, at the end of the school year at Carver, Mr. Riley had announced to several of the senior students the plans for the experimental course and asked for volunteers to take it. Some of the students signed up for the course at this time while others did so at the beginning of the school year the following September. A few students were assigned to the class who were not informed about the experimental program until the group met for the first time. These students had indicated on a course form that they wished to take a problems of American democracy class.

At the beginning it was thought by everyone concerned that the class would last for a full school year. However, due to the desegregation of local schools and the simultaneous phasing out of Carver High, it lasted for only one semester.

Adult Personnel

Mr. Walter Riley had been a teacher at Carver High School for several years. He is a black man, who at that time was in his middle forties, and had obtained both a bachelor's and a master's degree from colleges in Florida. In addition to his duties as a senior high social studies teacher at Carver, Mr. Riley was also the student council sponsor. He was the regular teacher of the experimental class until the Christmas vacation period, at which time he resigned his position at Carver to take a job at the local junior college.

Upon Mr. Riley's resignation, a replacement, Mr. Joseph Simmons, was found for him. Mr. Simmons, a Negro in his early twenties, had recently received a bachelors degree from a Florida univeristy. Prior

to his appointment at Carver he had taught in the public school system of New Jersey for a few months. He was the regular teacher of the class from the beginning of school after the Christmas holidays until Carver was closed at the end of January.

Dr. Kline, a white anthropologist, had a broad and varied background consisting of many years of experience in anthropological field work and in the college classroom. He functioned mainly as a consultant to the students and the teachers. At various points in time he gave talks to the class in which he supplied information which helped clarify the nature of the research tasks and to facilitate their completion. On the days that he attended class but did not speak, he sat and observed, and participated when he was invited to do so by the black teacher or a student.

The observer, a white female, was a doctoral student and instructor at the nearby state university. As indicated in Chapter I, her primary role in the class was to observe and record, but she did participate in class discussions on occasion, and she addressed the class as a group once during which time she presented the students with a summary of the information she had obtained from them during the first set of interviews.

For a period of 10 weeks from the first of October until the middle of December, a white female student teacher from the university was present during the class meetings. Her only part in the class other than observation was calling the roll.

In addition to the regular adult personnel who had connections with the class, a number of people visited the class one or more times.

Two of the observer's students in a teacher education course at the university each came to the class several times. A white female county supervisor attended the class two times; a white male on the county staff came once. Since Mr. Simmons did not arrive until the second day of class after the Christmas holidays, a black male substitute teacher was in charge of the class the first day. Finally, Mrs. Willis, the black female assistant principal with whom Dr. Kline had first consulted, observed the class once after the resignation of Mr. Riley.

Student Personnel

The student group consisted of 24 members, 15 of whom were female and 9 male. One of the females only remained within the group until the sixth week, at which time she dropped out of school. Another female joined the class during the fourth week of school and remained until two weeks before the end of the term. The other 22 pupils were members of the group throughout the term.

The names of these students as they are referred to in this study are:

<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Beth	Carl
Carol	Cecil
Daphne	Claude
Diane	Dan
Dolly	Elbert
Earlene	Jerald
Jan	Harry
Jane	Reggie
Jeanette (entered late)	Tom
Julia	
Kay	
Marianne	
Marie	
Nell (dropped out)	
Tina	

The approximate location of the students in space within the classroom is indicated in Figure 2. The students were free to sit anywhere they wished and could change desks at any time. With one exception, the class members continued to sit in the same section of the room after the second week of class. After this, any shift in seating position was either temporary or involved very minor changes such as moving into the next desk if it were vacant. The exception was Jerald who shifted from the middle seating section to the right side of the room after the term was more than half over.

The students in the class represented a wide range of academic achievement and interest. Scores on the Florida Twelfth Grade Placement Test, which is administered to all seniors in the state, ranged in this class from the 3rd to the 80th percentile. Average grades for the pupils varied from a low "C" to mostly "A" marks. Courses of study engaged in by the group members during their high school careers included the traditional academic college preparatory curriculum as well as those which combined certain traditional courses with vocational programs such as cosmetology and nurses aid training.

All of the students, except Jan, Jane, and Diane, lived within the urban area of the community. These three girls lived in a small rural community located about 10 miles from College City and rode the bus from their homes to Carver each morning.

A Typical Day

The experimental class met each morning first period. It began officially at 8:35 a.m. and was terminated by the ringing of a bell at 9:30 a.m. The first bell of the day rang at 8:30 and was a signal to

Key to Figure 2

T	Teacher's Desk
O	Various seating positions of the observer and Dr. Kline
Me	Marianne
Di	Diane
Ea	Earlene
Je	Jeannette
Do	Dolly
Co	Carol
Da	Daphne
J ^{ll}	Jerald (second half of term)
Ju	Julia
Ti	Tina
K	Kay
J ^l	Jerald (first half of term)
H	Harry
B	Beth
Ca	Carl
Dn	Dan
Cl	Claude
Ce	Cecil
To	Tom
Jn	Jan
R	Reggie
El	Elbert
Ma	Marie
Ja	Jane

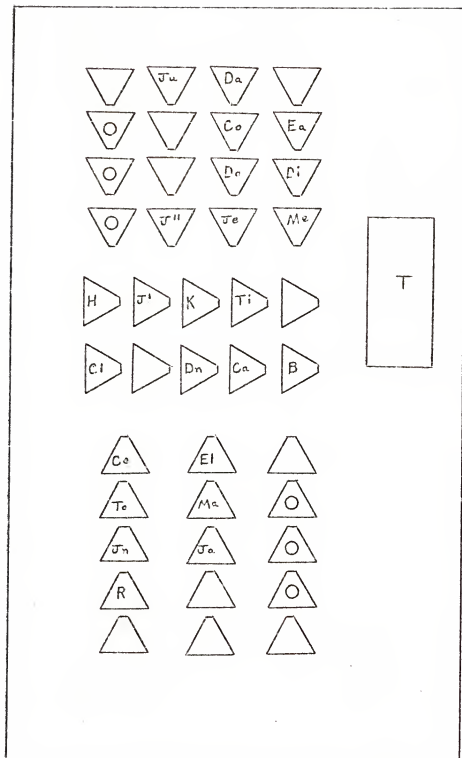


FIGURE 2

SEATING CHART OF STUDENTS

all of Carver's students, most of whom were standing with friends in the front yard, to come into the building and go to their respective first period classes. Shortly after 8:30, pupils who were members of the experimental class began assembling in the room. Although in most cases a majority of the pupils arrived before the official starting time, there were usually some who came in later. Over the course of the term, class was actually begun any time between the official starting time and a few minutes after nine o'clock, depending upon other events occurring in and around the school. On most days the actual starting time for the class was between 8:40 a.m. and 8:45 a.m.

With very few exceptions, official class activities were initiated by the black teacher when he called the attendance roll. After each student present answered when his name was called, the class got underway with whatever activity had been planned for that day. The activity generally continued without ceasing until it was interrupted by the bell at 9:30 a.m. However, at several points in time the bell did not actually end the class activities because the students chose to continue them for a few minutes after it rang.

Dr. Kline and Mr. Riley usually went to the faculty lounge to talk after the class meeting ended, as the second period of the day was Mr. Riley's "free" or planning period. The observer also was included in these conversations. It was during this time that discussions were had concerning the progress and development of the class and in which plans for future class activities were made.

Summary

This chapter has placed the classroom within the context of the

larger social systems of which it is a part. The classroom has also been described as a social system in its own right with its own characteristic activities and personnel. In addition to presenting the social milieu in which the class existed, the physical setting in the classroom and surrounding it have been delineated. Finally, the historical background of the class has been made explicit.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPERIMENTAL CLASS: ACTIVITIES

A description of the activities of the experimental class is presented in this chapter. This information is included prior to the analysis of the internal structure because it is within the context of these activities that the personnel of the class interacted with each other from day to day.

The activities of the class were centered around a study of the basic institutions and cultural patterns of the local black community. This investigation was conducted from a comparative point of view. Data about other cultures were utilized for purposes of comparing and contrasting these other ways of life with that of the local community. In addition, local life of two and three generations ago was compared with present day living.

The information concerning the local community in both its present and past forms was collected by the students through the techniques of observation, interviewing, and recording, and reported to the class orally and sometimes in writing. Information about other cultural groups was supplied in talks by Dr. Kline and, less frequently, by the students, and through films and written materials.

Categories of Activities

Most of the class activities fell within three major categories. One of these groupings included all presentation and discussion of

data collected by the students in their various research tasks. Secondly, on some occasions information was presented by the instructors for the purposes of clarifying the nature and purposes of the research tasks, facilitating their completion, and providing comparative data which fit in with the other activities. Finally, several class meetings were devoted to general class discussions on topics of current interest.

Those activities involving research on the part of the students were central to the organization of the class. These assignments involved investigating the changes over time in the life style and major problems of the local community. The family and church as important institutions in the black culture were looked at in some detail. In addition, eight books, which related to the other research topics, were reported on by some of the students at different points in time over the term.

The function of providing information was mainly that of Dr. Kline. His talks, generally lasting from 15 to 40 minutes, were given only in connection with another activity which involved participation on the part of the student. The information was not regarded as an end in itself or something which might be of use in the distant future, but was viewed as a means to carry our immediate activities.

A majority of these lectures dealt with three basic, but varying themes. In the first place, a number of them supplied comparative material about other cultural groups. The specific content of such talks depended upon which aspect of the community--food, shelter, religion, roles in the family, and so forth--was being considered by

the class at that time. Secondly, many of the talks brought out helpful points on how to go about gathering data through observing and interviewing. Finally, some of the presentations provided feedback on the progress of the class.

General class discussions occurred at several points in time over the term. These activities are to be distinguished from the discussions which arose out of reporting activities, since the general class discussions were initiated independently of the research tasks. These activities served to capitalize on the students' interests in contemporary events and issues and provided a means to use constructively some of the class periods between the time major research tasks were planned and the students were ready to present their findings. These discussions included incidents occurring in the local community as well as broader events and issues. Most frequently they dealt with various aspects of the problems existing between the black and white races. Other topics of discussion included drugs, contraception, a comparison of the religious practices reported by James West in Plainville, USA and those of the local community, a questionnaire dealing with "alienation," and the anti-war movement.

Sequence of Activities

This section is concerned with a presentation of the class activities as they occurred over time. This treatment of the sequence of events is not a precise day by day account, but is a more general summary of the approximate order of activities. However, a daily calendar of class activities can be found in Appendix I.

Most of the class activities during the first nine-week grading period were centered around three major research assignments. All of these assignments were designed to help the students become proficient in gathering data through observation, interviewing, and recording, and to provide a broad picture of the differences in community life and problems between the present and the recent past.

The first research work done by the students was concerned with the changes over time in the eating practices of the community. The pupils reported their observations of their families' current practices with regard to food and followed this up a few days later with a comparison of the eating habits and related behavior during the period in time when their parents and grandparents were growing up. The latter information was obtained through interviews.

Significant changes in food traditions were brought out and discussed. Several students reported that wild game, including squirrel, rabbit, and racoon, were often a regular part of the diet of families of the past. Others reported that lunches were taken to school in a bucket and consisted of an entire meal generally left over from the evening meal the night before. Other significant practices which were reported that no longer exist include the use of smokehouses and ice boxes to store food.

The data were compiled and reported in such a way that food practices were placed in the context of a particular socio-economic system which existed in the black community in the recent past. The basic element of this system was the small independent or tenant farm family in which food and most other goods were produced at home. Barter was a common practice among the black farm families, and cash money for

such "luxuries" as every-day shoes simply was not available.

Since a question asked in the interview was concerned with what kinds of lunches were brought to school during the adults' youth, food traditions and economic practices were seen in relation to educational problems and practices. The reports revealed that one room schools were common and that transportation to and from school was seldom available. School terms were shorter and grade levels fewer in number than at the present, partly because of the economic needs of the family which required the youths to work in the fields for part of the year.

Thus, it can be seen that the result of this first series of reports was a definite beginning in the attempt to make explicit the changes which have occurred in the black community over the past several decades. The outlines of an essentially rural tradition began to emerge in contrast to the more urban way of life of the students of the class.

Prior to the reports on current food practices, Dr. Kline gave a brief talk on the food traditions in different cultural groups. In between the reports on contemporary food habits and those of the past he summarized the first reports and discussed in some detail the eating customs and related behavior of the Irish countryman. Within this context some instruction was given on how to observe, interview, and record as Dr. Kline reported how he went about gathering data when engaging in anthropological field research in Ireland.

Two other activities were engaged in between the time the students reported on their own food habits and gave the presentations on those practices in the past. A class discussion dealing with some recently occurring local incidents which involved racial conflicts was held. The other activity was a listing by the students of the problems

encountered by them in writing their life histories, an assignment completed the first week as a preliminary to major research endeavors. The purpose of listing the problems was to bring to light some of the difficulties which are inherent in assembling and reporting the detailed data gathered in observation and interviews.

The second major research project had to do with housing and family activities around the home. Data were collected by the students in two areas. First, they were asked to draw two diagrams complete with keys. The first was a map of the kitchen in their home, and the second portrayed their grandparents' kitchen some years ago. Secondly, the class members observed family activities over a weekend paying special attention to distinctions based upon age and sex.

The diagrams of the modern kitchen were brought to class and compared by the students in small groups after which two students drew their diagrams on the board and described them. The same activity was repeated a week later, but this time the students compared the modern kitchens to the old ones.

Prior to the completion of the above assignment, Dr. Kline presented comparative data and other information. A short talk was given on the housing arrangements of rural Ireland and the patterns of family activity in this culture. Distinctions based upon age and sex and the cyclical nature of activities were emphasized. In addition, more information was given concerning observation and interviewing.

At the same time six books were brought in by Dr. Kline. Six students read all or a part of them and reported to the group what the books were about and whether or not they were relevant for the

purposes of the experimental class. The books reported on were Plainville, USA by James West, Perspectives From Anthropology by Rachel R. Sady, The Irish Countryman by Conrad Arensberg, Five Families by Oscar Lewis, Mirror for Man by Clyde Kluckhohn, and Realities of the Urban Classroom by G. Alexander Moore.

Observation of family routines over a weekend was the final part of the second major research assignment. This task involved careful observation of the activities of individual family members and of the family as a group. On the last day of these reports a discussion arose concerning the distinctions in household activities based upon sex and the appropriate role and activities of males and females in the family. This discussion was followed up the next day in a short talk by Dr. Kline in which he discussed distinctions between the activities of males and females and the problems of the relationships between the sexes. He pointed out that this was a problem which, although dealt with in many ways, existed in all cultures.

The final research project of the first nine weeks involved looking at what the students saw as the major problems in present day living and how they saw them as compared with the parents and grandparents in their youth. This project was initiated by having each student bring to class a list of what he thought were the most important problems in contemporary American society. All of these lists were combined into a master list of more than sixty problems which was mimeographed and given to all of the personnel of the class. The next step in this research project was to have each student take this master list and develop his own classification system in which he would again

establish priorities in terms of the problems he saw as being most important. Each student reported his taxonomy to the class.

Following these reports, two of the classification systems were placed on the board and used as the basis for a talk by Dr. Kline. During this activity, Dr. Kline wrote the five major problems of American democracy as seen by the students on the board and asked the class to rank them. In the context of this activity the idea was expressed by a student that what is defined as a problem depends upon the perspective of the people who are viewing the situation. One example was given of how their parents and grandparents viewed the question of race in their youth as compared with how the students in the class saw the problem. This discussion provided a convenient situation in which to move into the next major phase of this research project which involved interviewing a parent or grandparent on the topic of the three major problems they faced when they were growing up.

The data gathered in these interviews added substance to the information brought out in the first series of interviews and were rich in information which provided a basis by which to contrast the past and the present. The life of the sharecropper and the independent small farmer was described in greater detail. It became apparent that in this rural life problems of an economic nature tended to permeate all aspects of existence. It was seen that there were few luxuries to be had and that, because children were an economic asset on the farm, very large families were predominant. The relationship between economic difficulties and securing the basic rudiments of an education were explored more deeply. The relative educational backwardness of the rural South in

the first three or four decades of the 20th century was clearly documented. The changing nature of the relationships between blacks and whites and the attitudes toward these relationships were fully discussed. The changes in the relationships between parents and children were looked at; it was seen that although the character of the "generation gap" had changed, it had also existed as a problem in other generations. Changes in the nature of social activities and religious life and the relationship between these two were made explicit. Other contrasts brought out included such things as changing health and medical beliefs and practices and changes in national banking policies.

During the period in which the above mentioned activity was taking place, time was taken out to consider an event which occurred locally. This event was the homecoming parade at the nearby state university. Some of the pupils at the suggestion of Dr. Kline observed this parade and reported on it to the class. The mention of a group of Vietnam war protestors in the parade led into a general discussion of the anti-war movement and related issues.

The reports concerning the problems of an older generation were completed near the end of the first nine weeks grading term. Two additional activities brought this period to a close. The first was a redefinition of the nature and purposes of the class. The second involved a final outside assignment which was to be presented in written form only.

The redefinition of the goals and purposes of the class was in part in direct response to the expressed concern of a class member, conveyed in an interview conducted by the observer. This student informed

the observer that some students were concerned that there were so many people sitting in on the class and writing things down. She was referring to the observer, two students from the university, the student teacher, a supervisor, and possibly Dr. Kline, who often engaged in notetaking when Mr. Riley had charge of the class. During this activity, the experimental nature of the class was discussed. In addition, a point was brought out which had been talked about several times before; again it was made explicit that any information recorded for research purposes was considered confidential and that personal identities would not be revealed. Also during this class period, the black teacher asked for and received the students' advice on how he should evaluate them.

The final written assignment was given the following day. This project was a problem designed to assess the skills of the student in organizing, synthesizing, and analyzing the data reported by the class members since the beginning of the school year. The task was to write a paper which contrasted on several points the traditional rural life the parents and grandparents had described with present day life. The points of contrast included the size, structure, activities, and relationships of the family; the facilities, depth, and nature of the school; housing facilities; sources of money and goods; religious life and community life.

In order to clarify this assignment, Dr. Kline gave a talk on some of the farming traditions which had been brought from Europe to the New World. He emphasized especially the traditional way of life of the Appalachian hill country. This lecture provided a guide which the students could follow in writing their papers.

Additional outside assignments were not made for a week so that the students would have ample time to work on their papers. However, in-class activities continued, with two class periods being devoted to discussions about a short questionnaire which had been developed by the Harris Poll. This questionnaire was supposed to measure "alienation" and consisted of a series of statements with which the respondent could agree or disagree. The questionnaire was answered by the students, and their percentages of agreement and disagreement were computed by the observer prior to the discussions. These percentages were presented to the class so that the students could compare their responses with other groups which had been polled on a nationwide basis.

Most of the items on this instrument led to discussions of various topics of current interest. For example, two of them led to a discussion of the nature and degree of racial prejudice existing in the United States today. These items were, "Other people get all of the lucky breaks," and "I do not have as good a chance as others to get ahead."

Following the completion of these discussions the observer reported to the class in summary form the results of the interviews she had held with the class members. These interviews were mainly concerned with the students' views about the nature, goals, and value of the class; their perception of their part in the class; and with getting suggestions from them as to how the class might be improved. After this feedback was presented, the students formed small groups to discuss the summary in terms of what was relevant at this point in time and to decide which suggestions, that had not already been put into effect, should be implemented. A chosen representative from each group reported the

decisions to the entire class. Following these group reports, Dr. Kline explained the principle of feedback and that a primary purpose of the interviews was to get feedback from the students about the class which, when utilized, would extend some control over the class to them.

At the end of the ninth week, a new research project was planned. The students were asked to collect data in interviews with two adults on their opinions about the recent Federal court decision which ordered an immediate end to the dual school system in the South. The reports on these interviews began the day after the class viewed two films illustrating other cultural patterns. Three major discussions were triggered by the information presented by the students in these reports. Objections were expressed to the manner in which desegregation was being put into effect locally and alternatives to the current plan were suggested. A second important discussion concerned pride in being black. Finally, a lengthy discussion was had concerning some of the problems which might arise when desegregation did occur.

The week the reports on the court decision were given was the week of homecoming at Carver High. On Thursday of that week, when it became increasingly clear that few of the students were interested in continuing the official activity, Mr. Riley suggested that the class stop and look at their interest in the events of the week. A discussion was initiated in which the students related what homecoming meant to them and then asked Mr. Riley to tell them what it had been like when he was in school.

Once the homecoming activities were over, time was taken to reassess the progress of the class and to plan new research projects

and other activities for the future. The students were asked to observe and record family activities occurring on Thanksgiving Day. Secondly, the class made plans to engage in a research project which involved observing and recording two church services. Finally, the students were asked to read certain chapters in Plainville, USA. Several copies of this book and the Irish Countryman had been ordered after being recommended by students. The chapters read in Plainville, USA dealt with, among other things, the religious beliefs and practices in that community. Hence, the material served the purpose of providing comparative information.

After these new activities were planned, several related talks were given by Dr. Kline. Additional information on how to go about observing and recording was presented with a special emphasis on the church observations. Examples of careful observation of various religious services were presented to the students. The information was valuable both as an aid in research and for comparative purposes. For example, one observation report dealt with a Quaker meeting. In addition, contrasts in life styles were discussed in which use was made of the illustrative material in Plainville, USA. This concept was related to differences in religious behavior, human groupings, communication networks, eating habits, and other practices.

Another activity which occurred during this period was a book report by a student. The book discussed was Tally's Corner by Elliot Liebow. The report was concerned mainly with the norms, expectations, and motives of a group of lower-class black men who met periodically on a certain corner. The material presented related to the concept of

contrasting life styles and was an example of careful observation and interviewing.

After the series of talks by Dr. Kline, some additional time was spent in getting the students ready for the complex activity of compiling research on the church. Mr. Riley suggested that it might be helpful to interview important people in the church and pointed out some specific information which should be included in the reports in addition to the order of action of the services. These other areas included the place and origin of special roles in the church, the role of women in the overall pattern, and the origin and existence of any special arrangements of the physical setting or seating patterns. A discussion was held about one important special role in the black church, that of "Mother of the Church." The historical background, functions, duties, qualifications, and influences of this position in the different churches were brought out by the students.

In order to avoid unnecessary difficulties the students prepared and presented reports in which they made explicit the methods and procedures for obtaining and compiling information they had developed and brought up any problems they were having in doing the research tasks. The day these reports were completed was also the last day of school for approximately three weeks because of the student walkout and the Thanksgiving holidays.

The day the students returned to school an assignment was given concerning the walkout. This task consisted of several questions dealing with the nature, purposes, and sequence of activities as seen by the students. Thus, at this point in time the students were working on three research projects, none of which had begun to be

reported in class. Since only five school days remained until the beginning of Christmas vacation and the students were under a great deal of pressure from other teachers to make up work which had been missed, only the Thanksgiving reports and a few church observation reports were completed before Christmas.

An additional assignment was given at the last class meeting before Christmas vacation. This assignment included two parts. First, the students were asked to observe their families' activities on Christmas Day. Secondly, they were asked to interview a grandparent or another adult for comparative data on the celebration of Christmas in the past.

Reporting activities began again when Mr. Simmons took over the class on the third day of school after the end of the Christmas holidays. Prior to this Dr. Kline and the students made plans for the students to put together a notebook of all major research tasks of the term for a final written assignment.

The first reports to be given were those concerning Christmas traditions of the past and present. Only a few students secured the comparative data on Christmas of the past, but enough was presented so that a summary could be made at the end of the differences and similarities discovered.

The Christmas reports were followed by the church research reports. These presentations revealed careful and detailed observation and recording on the part of many of the students; it was obvious that these skills had improved greatly since the beginning of the year. The orderly and recurrent nature of church services, the place of

ritual in religion, the nature and functions of specialists in the church, the use of time, and distribution in space and distinctions in activities based upon age and sex were brought out clearly. The students began to identify and discuss similarities and differences among the various churches represented by the class members and to ask questions of each other on procedures and customs they did not understand. Information was related not only from direct observation and past experience, but many students interviewed various adult members of their churches. In order to delve more deeply into the differences and similarities of the various religious institutions, five students volunteered to make special summary reports on the four Protestant denominations represented by the class members (Baptist, Methodist, Holiness, Christian) and the Catholic Church. These reports marked the end of the study of local religious institutions.

Due to intense student interest, the day in between the last regular church reports and the special summary reports was devoted to a general discussion of a Federal court decision handed down a few days earlier. This decision ordered the county school officials to implement their plans for complete desegregation by February 1, 1970, rather than the following September. Hence, Carver High School would be phased out in less than a month and the experimental class could not continue. During this discussion the students explained their position on desegregation to Mr. Simmons. They made it clear that they were in favor of integration, but that the black community had not been properly consulted when the desegregation plans were being formulated and that no good reason had been given for not leaving a comprehensive high school in their community on an integrated basis.

After the church reports were completed, the final written assignment was handed in and a student gave a special book report on Claude Brown's Manchild in the Promised Land. The report was detailed and analytical and portrayed many aspects of community life in Harlem.

The events relating to the student walkout were covered through general class discussions rather than through individual reports. The order of events, the purpose and nature of the walkout, outside support, problems encountered in carrying out the activities, and accomplishments were considered first. The second day the discussion was extended to encompass what was expected to occur when the students were transferred to the other schools, whether or not it was wise to desegregate the schools in the middle of the year, and a reconsideration of the county's plan for desegregation.

These discussions marked the end of what was supposed to be the last week of school at Carver. However, during the week it was announced by school officials that the school would remain open for one more week. This additional week in the experimental class was devoted to general discussions of two controversial issues: birth control and drugs. The discussion on birth control centered on the "pill," but information regarding other methods of contraception was supplied by the students. The discussion of drugs was conducted by role playing on the part of the students. These roles included those of parent, young person, law enforcement official, social worker, reformed addict, and drug pusher. This discussion took place on Thursday of that last week and was to be continued on Friday. However, due to a series of violent incidents in the Carver area on Thursday afternoon,

it was decided by the school officials that Carver would not be open on Friday.

Some broad tentative plans for the class activities during the second half of the year had already been made before it was known that Carver would be closed in February. These future activities were designed to give the pupils additional experience in observation, interviewing, and recording and to enable them to gain skill in analyzing group behavior.

One of the important kinds of activities which had been planned was a study of the student system at Carver High School. This would have been accomplished through collecting and analyzing data on the behavior of various student groups and would have involved a special emphasis on the senior class.

The other two major projects which had been planned involved going more deeply into what had already been done in the class. For those who had acquired an interest in the church research, an opportunity would have been provided for further exploration in this area. Tape recorders would have been available to record the services for presentation and analysis in class. Secondly, opportunities for further research and development in the area of family history would have been provided. The students who were interested in this subject would also have been supplied with recording devices.

It was hoped that one of the end results of these last two projects would be documents of a kind that would be valuable in that they preserved certain aspects of the past in the black community including the sense of folk behavior in the family and the church. A broad objective of all three activities was of course the further development of research skills.

Summary

In summary, the class as a group was concerned with a study of the life style and problems existing in the local community in the past and the present. This was accomplished mainly by research on the part of the pupils who gathered firsthand information and shared their findings with each other. In the process of carrying out these research activities the students were developing skills in observation, interviewing, recording data and reporting it. At the same time the pupils were engaging in comparative analysis with respect to changes over time in the local community. In addition, data from other cultural groups were supplied to complement and give added meaning to the research projects.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE: INTRODUCTION AND FIRST TIME PERIOD

Introductory Statements

This chapter is concerned with setting forth the framework within which the internal structure of the experimental class was analyzed. The major variables used to treat the data, the four time periods into which the report of the analysis is broken, the manner in which the students were classified for analysis are described. In addition, this chapter presents the analysis of the internal structure of the class for the first time period.

Major Variables

The events as they were recorded were treated in terms of the following interdependent variables: 1) the interactional system of the group, which in turn was divided into two major components, the nature of the relationships within the student group, and between the class and the teachers; 2) the activities of the class; 3) the different topics of concern; 4) the time between the planning of a research task and its presentation in class; and 5) the external environment. This last variable refers to events occurring or originating outside of the class which were manifested in and related to changes in the internal operations of the group.

Time Periods

The experimental class was in operation from the early part of September, 1969, until the end of January, 1970. For purposes of analysis this term was broken into four smaller time periods. The basis by which these divisions were made are related to the completion of certain groups of activities or to the impingement of external events on the class. The first time period ended when the group finished a series of activities involving learning the basic fundamentals of observing, interviewing, and recording, and substantively concerned with looking at life in the local black community as it has changed over the past several decades. The end of this period also coincided with the end of the first nine-week grading period. The second time period, which lasted for approximately three weeks, ended with the occurrence of the student walkout at Carver High School. This event disrupted classes for 12 days. The third time period, which lasted for only six days, extended from the reassembling of the group after the walkout until the beginning of the Christmas holidays. Mr. Riley's resignation marked the end of this time period. The final time period started with the first day of school after the Christmas holidays and ended four weeks later with the closing of Carver High School.

Classification of Students

The student personnel of the class were introduced in Chapter II.¹ These students were divided into four groups according to the frequency

¹Supra., pp. 37-38.

with which they voluntarily entered into the verbal activity of the class during the first time period.² Each student was assigned a number from one to four on the basis of his membership in one of these groups. A number of "one" indicates membership in the group with the highest rate of participation, while a number "four" refers to the group whose members talked the least number of times. The divisions between these groups were made where the most dramatic differences appeared. For example, the numbers of comments made by students in group one were 96, 93, 75, and 65; 65 was the cutoff point for group one because the next highest number of comments made by a student was 39. The numbers of comments made by students in group two were 39, 35, 31, 29, 28, and 27; 27 was the cutoff point for group two because the largest number of comments made by a student in group three was 20. New groupings for each of the other time periods were determined in the same manner and are presented in tables in later chapters. The numbers assigned for the first time period, however, are retained by the name of the student throughout the report so that any changes which occurred can be more easily recognized.

Table 1 presents the name and number of each pupil along with the seating section (right, middle, or left) in which each was located and the sex of each student. It can be seen that all of the members of group one sat in the center section. Two of the other four students who sat in this section were in group three. The remaining two students

²Since the observer was working without recording devices, it was possible to get complete data only on the number of times each person spoke. Much of the content of the conversations was also recorded, but it was not possible to keep an accurate record of the length of time each person talked.

TABLE 1

STUDENT GROUPINGS BY PARTICIPATION, SEATING SECTION,
AND SEX DURING THE FIRST TIME PERIOD

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>Sex</u>
Jerald	1	Center	M
Kay	1	Center	F
Tina	1	Center	F
Dan	1	Center	M
Jan	2	Left	F
Daphne	2	Right	F
Cecil	2	Left	M
Dolly	2	Right	F
Carl	2	Center	M
Tom	2	Left	M
Jane	3	Left	F
Elbert	3	Left	M
Claude	3	Center	M
Harry	3	Center	M
Jeannette (entered 4th week)	3	Right	F
Diane	3	Right	F
Julia	4	Right	F
Beth	4	Center	F
Marie	4	Left	F
Carol	4	Right	F
Earlene	4	Right	F
Marianne	4	Right	F
Nell (dropped out 6th week)	4	Right	F
Reggie	4	Left	M

represented groups two and four. Five pupils who sat on the right side of the room were in group four, or the least active group. Two of the other pupils on the right side of the room were in group three and two were in group two. Pupils located on the left side of the room were divided almost equally between three groups, with two members in groups two and four and three members in group three.

Sex distinctions did not affect the seating patterns for the left and center sections. Three females and five males sat in the center and four males and three females sat on the left. Grouping by sex, however, did occur in the right section. Nine females sat on the right side of the room. Sex distinctions were not apparent in groups one, two, and three. Two males and two females were in group two, and three males and three females in group three. Sex distinctions were important in group four; it included seven females and only one male. Five of these females sat in the right seating section.

Analysis: First Time Period--September 2 to October 30

It has been mentioned already that the first time period considered in looking at the internal structure of the class was the first nine-week grading period, which marked the termination of a series of research activities. These activities involved a comparison of various aspects of the black community in the past and present and mastering the fundamentals of observation, interviewing, and recording. The patterns of interaction during this period were looked at within the context of four different kinds of situations: activities involving reports by the students, general class discussions, activities in which a teacher addressed the class, and small group discussions.

Reporting Activities

One kind of activity engaged in by the class during this initial time period was that of reporting data collected in observation and interviewing. Of the 37 days the class met, the greater part of 13 class meetings and portions of two other sessions were spent in giving reports and discussing them.

The internal structure of the group during this kind of activity appears to be related to several variables, and these relationships seem to be incredibly complex. First of all, the structure and processes of the classroom varied with the nature of the topic being considered. That is, the reports on some topics involved spontaneous discussion of related issues, while others were associated with little or no verbal activity other than straight reporting. Topics such as present food practices, observations of family activities over a weekend, and the listing and classification of current problems were examples of straight reporting. Reports concerned with food customs of the past, problems of the past, and book reports given by the students stimulated discussions in many areas. For example, the reports on food customs and problems of the past were related to several discussions of a comparative nature in which the past and present were contrasted on such aspects as changing health and medical practices, family relationships, economic principles, social activities, religious customs, racial relations, and educational practices.

Another factor with which the relational system of the class seemed to vary was the location in space of the teacher. When Mr. Riley remained in front of the class he tended to engage in more verbal

activity than when he sat among the students. When standing at the podium during reporting activities, he never made less than 22 percent of the total comments and often spoke after every pupil comment. This percentage is extremely low and occurred only once. At all other times when Mr. Riley was in front of the room during reporting activities, he made around 40 percent of all the statements. As might be expected under these conditions, fewer students voluntarily entered the discussion than when the teacher spoke less.

When Mr. Riley removed himself in space from the podium or desk in front of the room he almost always spoke less than 15 percent of the time. His comments also were less lengthy under these conditions. Sometimes he spoke only to initiate activities and terminate them. In addition, between the initiation of official activities and their termination, Mr. Riley would sometimes leave the room for long periods of time. For example, he left the class several times during the family routine reports and for practically an entire class meeting when the data on problems of the past were being presented. There were no discernible differences in the structure and process of the interaction among the students when he was present and when he was not in the room.

The practice of the teacher sitting among the students during some of the class meetings in which reporting took place, first began during the fourth week of class when Kay,¹ Jan,² Tina,¹ Dan,¹ Dolly,² and Carl² took over the class for the most part of two days in order to give talks on books they had read voluntarily. In a discussion the first day, which lasted for 30 minutes, 12 students participated. Prior to this, in the reports and related discussions about past food

traditions, all of which lasted an entire period, only ten students were involved in the verbal activities.

On the second day of these reports Kay¹, who had reported the previous day, had additional comments to make. After she vacated the podium, Mr. Riley attempted to terminate the activity, but Carl² started toward the front of the room, reminding the teacher that he had not yet reported. When he finished, Dolly² arose without a word and went to the podium to give additional comments on her book.

The practice of the teacher leaving the front of the room was continued during most of the family routine reports. This activity took all of two class meetings and parts of two others. Toward the end of the third hour a pause occurred in the reporting. At this point Dan¹ and Marie⁴, both of whom had already reported, encouraged Elbert³ to make his presentation and he did so. After this the teacher stepped in to ask if one more of those who had not yet reported would do so. Marianne⁴ gave her presentation and the class was over. At the point in time when Mr. Riley entered the ongoing activity, all except six of the 24 class members had reported voluntarily. In the reports on food customs of the past, nine people had volunteered to make presentations. Thus, in the family routine report series the number of voluntary speakers had doubled. Marianne⁴, Julia⁴, Earlene⁴, Diane³, Carol⁴, and Reggie⁴ were the students who had not yet reported, nor had they spoken voluntarily during any of the reporting activities carried out thus far.

Even though little discussion occurred between these reports, one comment from Mr. Riley, when the reports were over about half way through the fourth hour, started a lively discussion which lasted for the

remainder of the class meeting and involved 18 people. Two of the 18 participants were Marianne⁴ and Carol⁴, neither of whom had spoken voluntarily in previous reporting activities. This was the highest number of students to participate during any one class meeting thus far. The discussion began when Mr. Riley asked for similarities and differences in the family routines. Several were given before someone mentioned differences in male and female roles in the home. Disagreement arose between the girls and the boys in the class as the discussion got underway. Interaction rates increased and widespread simultaneous talk occurred for the first time in this group. Activity did not end with the bell, but continued in the room, through the halls, and in one case into another class in which seven of the class members were together during the following period.

After the observation reports on family routines were completed, the students interviewed a parent or grandparent on the subject of the major problems faced in the past by members of the black community. During part of the reporting Mr. Riley did not remain in front of the room, but either sat in a student's desk or left the room. During the first day of this activity, in spite of the fact that he sat in the back of the room, he made over 30 percent of the comments. Other variables, which are discussed later, were operating here. The second day Dan¹ was in charge of the class while Mr. Riley was gone for most of the period. Sixteen students participated in the reporting activities and the discussion which arose from the reports. Except for the discussion on male and female roles in the home, this was the greatest number to speak voluntarily in any one class meeting during reporting activities. The discussion which occurred in relation to the reports

concerned changes in the nature of social life in the black community and changing medical practices, with a focus on "home remedies" used in the past.

Related to the location of the teacher in space was whether or not he allowed the reporting to be done in a voluntary order or whether he called on specific individuals to report. As might be expected, when staying behind the podium he was more likely to ask specific people to report than to wait for volunteers. At any rate, there seemed to be distinct differences in the nature of the interaction when reports were given voluntarily than when the order was determined by the teacher. Most of the discussions on topics related to the reports arose when a voluntary order of speaking was followed. This was true whether or not the teacher stood in front of the room. However, when he did remain at the podium the discussions generally were shorter and more dependent on the teacher to continue.

This contrast in the nature of interaction between an order of reporting determined by the students and one set by the teacher can be illustrated best by comparing these two kinds of order while holding the topic of reporting constant. During the first of two class meetings in which food practices of the past were considered, a voluntary order of participation was followed. Related discussion contrasting and comparing the past and the present in such areas as education and production, consumption, and exchange of goods, as well as food traditions, took place. Activity did not end with the bell; discussion simply continued as though it had not rung. Mr. Riley, at length said, "I'm sorry, but it is time for class to be over." During the second class period devoted

to this topic, with one exception at the end of the activity, students were called on to report. Nine students made presentations that day, and no discussion arose after the presentations. The entire activity lasted less than 15 minutes.

The nature of the interaction during the reports on problems of the past affords the opportunity for further exploration of the two orders of reporting. During the first three days of these presentations, for the most part a voluntary order was followed. During the first day the students, in response to some of the reports, initiated discussions dealing with the nature of education for black people in the South several decades ago and the changes in the relationships between generations in recent years. The following day when Dan¹ was in charge of the class, discussions about changes in social and recreational activities and medical practices mentioned earlier took place. On the fourth and last day of these reports the order of reporting was largely determined by the teacher. In this instance there was some related discussion, but no topic was pursued in depth. Moreover, most of the discussion occurred near the end of the period, between Jerald¹, who volunteered to report, and Mr. Riley. Jerald¹ made 40 percent of the student comments. This was the only instance during the first nine weeks when one student tended to dominate the verbal activity during reporting sessions.

Time was another variable related to the structure and process of the classroom group during reporting activities. For instance, the reports on the observations of family activities over the weekend were begun a day earlier than planned. Only Kay¹ and Tina¹ reported when the teacher vacated the front of the room and called for volunteers.

No other student had his report ready, apparently because more time had been expected to complete the research task. Consequently, the activity ended and another project had to be initiated for the remainder of the class meeting.

Certain events external to the classroom sometimes impinged on the group in such a way that they were manifested in events and relations happening within the group. Hence, the external environment is another factor which was taken into account in the assessment of the internal structure of the group. A combination of events occurring in the external environment and the variable of time were related to the alteration in the pattern of interaction during the first day of the reports on problems of the past.³ The assignment was planned on the Friday prior to the Monday on which reporting was to begin, thus leaving only the weekend to complete the task. Also, nine students and Mr. Riley were not present on the Friday the assignment was planned by the class. The occasion for the absence of most of these pupils and Mr. Riley was a meeting with the superintendent of schools to discuss the reasons for closing Carver High School when the county schools became fully desegregated the following September. Dan¹, Tina¹, Kay¹, Jerald¹, and Jan² were among those who were not present. Not only had these five students been among the most verbally active group members, but they and Jane³, who was also absent, and Daphne², who did not get her interviewing done over the weekend, were the students who up to this point had been the only ones to volunteer first and second to

³Supra., p. 70.

report. The fact that these seven students did not have their assignments ready probably accounts for the fact that on Monday Mr. Riley, who was sitting in the back of the room, still made about 30 percent of the comments during this activity. Most of his talk occurred in the first part of the period when there was some difficulty in getting verbal activity started. During the first few minutes several people were called on, but none were ready. Nonetheless, four volunteers came forth during the course of the hour. Earlene⁴, Jeannette³, and Elbert³, three of the four students who volunteered to make presentations during this class meeting, had been among the very last to report in earlier activities. Earlene⁴, who volunteered first, had never given a report in this class without being requested to do so. Cecil², the other student who presented his findings, previously had given his reports somewhere in the middle of the order of presentation. These four reports and the related discussion are another instance of an activity continuing beyond the bell.⁴ A discussion of the "generation gap" and the changing nature of the relationships between the young and old was taking place as the bell rang and continued for a few minutes thereafter.

Another external factor which may have altered the interactional process in the class for one class meeting was a visit by a white female supervisor from the county office. In spite of the fact that reporting was voluntary that day, only eight people participated in the verbal interaction. However, Mr. Riley was present at the front of

⁴Supra., p. 71.

the room and engaged in more verbal activity than was usual for him during reporting activities in which the order was voluntary. This behavior on his part may have been related to the presence of the supervisor.

As implied earlier there were some regularities in the order of presentation during reporting. These patterns for the most part were related to the people who were reluctant to volunteer. Some students tended to put off talking until the very end or until they were requested to report. There were changes over time in this group, in that it grew smaller. At the end of the first nine weeks, only Marianne⁴, Carol⁴, Julia⁴, and Reggie⁴ had behaved consistently in this way throughout the time period.

Hence, the report of the analysis suggests that the important variables related to the interactional system of the classroom during reporting activities were the subjects being discussed, the location of the personnel in space, the order of reporting, the amount of verbal activity on the part of the teacher, time, and the external environment. It is obvious that the relationships existing here are quite complex and that the variables are interdependent. It should also be mentioned that all of these factors were operating within a group situation which was being organized and run from day to day in accordance with the assumptions set forth in the first chapter of this study.⁵

Throughout all of the complexities of the data, it seems safe to conclude tentatively that given the right combination of variables

⁵Supra., pp. 2-8.

this group of students could carry out reporting activities without the need for a teacher except to initiate and terminate the activities. Indeed, under optimum conditions a high level of participation on the part of Mr. Riley seemed to interfere with student initiation of and participation in comparative and analytical discussion of the data presented. It could not be determined from the researcher's data whether the students could have initiated and terminated major activities on their own because no such opportunity was available during the first time period.

In light of the above statements what were the conditions under which this group of students could carry out reporting activities with a large measure of autonomy? First, sufficient time had to be given to complete research tasks. The answer to the question of what is "sufficient time," of course, was not absolute but depended on the nature of the task and on other demands being made on the students at a particular time. Hence, the question of how much time was needed for completion of a research activity could only be answered by the students in consultation with one of the teachers. When sufficient time was not given from their standpoint, many students did not have their presentations ready and refused to report. Given enough time so that a considerable number of students had their data ready for presentation, the next requirement for autonomy was that the teacher, after initiating the activity, remove himself in space from the front of the room and that the students be left with the responsibility of determining the order of participation. There is some evidence that had the order of reporting been determined by the students in all cases, those who were reluctant to volunteer would have been incorporated into

the activity by their peers and it was probably unnecessary for the teacher to interfere. For instance, it was mentioned earlier that during a lull in reporting activity a student was encouraged to report by two other pupils. At this point the teacher stepped in, but before he spoke others who had not reported were being encouraged to do so by pupils who had already made presentations. This same pattern reappeared at a later date when Mr. Riley was absent for a period in which reporting activities took place.

It is difficult to generalize about how much impingement from the external environment affected the autonomous operation of the group in reporting activities during this first time period. When several students were absent when a research assignment was planned, it was difficult to get reporting started. However, this project was one of the most complex tasks undertaken during this time period, and only one weekend was given for completion of it. Moreover, there were students who kept the activity going voluntarily. Finally, there is no evidence that the presence of the white supervisor during another class meeting directly altered anyone's behavior except that of Mr. Riley, who remained at the podium and talked more than usual.

It should be noted that in those reporting activities which did not involve student initiation of comparative and analytical discussion, the teacher was needed in a supervisory capacity to stimulate discussion. This need seemed to vary more with the subject being discussed than with any other factor. For example, no spontaneous discussion arose in connection with the observation reports on family activities. This may have been because no single report contained the type of data which lent itself to comparative analysis and that in order to engage in this

process the combined data of all of the reports needed to be considered. However, in reporting activities such as food customs and problems of the past, which involved single reports containing data which each student could compare with his research and with present conditions, there was no need for the teacher to initiate discussion in which the students could manipulate, reorganize, and compare information. The pupils did this for themselves.

General Class Discussions

During the first time period, four entire class meetings were taken up by class discussions which were not directly related to research or reporting activities. Considering these four class periods, participation by the students increased each time and generally comments and directives by the teacher became less frequent. Ten, thirteen, fifteen, and eighteen students participated respectively in the four discussions.

In the first discussion, which related to a racial incident occurring locally, questions or statements were used 19 times by Mr. Riley to get the students to respond to him. These "response getters" were all of a type which allowed flexible, alternative answers. No questions were asked for which the teacher already knew the answers. Rather, opinions and judgments were sought on various aspects of the event under discussion. Under these conditions Mr. Riley made approximately 45 percent of the comments. Of the ten students participating, Kay¹ and Tina¹ together made about 50 percent of the student comments.

In the second discussion five weeks later, 13 students participated. Eight times the students were placed in the position of responding

to questions set forth by Mr. Riley. These questions were of the same nature as those used in the previous discussions. The topic of concern was the homecoming parade at the nearby state university. This event had been observed by some of the students. Since some Vietnam War protestors had been in the parade, much of the discussion was taken up with this and related topics. Jerald¹ made 40 percent and Kay¹ and Tina¹ together made 23 percent of all student comments. Mr. Riley talked less than in the previous discussion, making 30 percent of all comments. Many of his statements were in response to Jerald¹ who began a dialogue with him toward the end of the class meeting.

A week later, two successive days were spent in discussing the items of a short questionnaire measuring the degree of "alienation" from the mainstream of American society. The students had filled out this questionnaire at an earlier date and were presented with the results of their responses in comparison with other groups in the county. During the first discussion, 15 students participated. Mr. Riley made seven comments in relation to the subject matter of the discussion, which amounted to about 14 percent of all comments. The only other times he talked was to initiate and terminate the activity and to ask the class to move on to the next item. Jerald¹ was again the most verbal student in the discussion. He made about 29 percent of the student comments. None of the remaining 14 students commented more than three times.

On the following day the behavior of the teacher and the frequency and amount of his participation remained about the same. Eighteen students became involved in the activity. Dan¹ engaged in more verbal

activity than any other student, but even so he made only 19 percent of the student comments.

At the end of the first time period there were three students, Marianne⁴, Marie⁴, and Reggie⁴, who had not participated voluntarily in general discussion activities. Marianne⁴ and Reggie⁴ also were two of the four students who had not yet given a report voluntarily. However, it must be said that all four of these pupils had participated spontaneously in some of the discussions arising out of the reports.

Although only the most tentative statements can be made in summarizing the happenings during the class periods involving general class discussions, several generalizations for further exploration need to be considered. First, the tendency was a decrease in the domination of the discussion by one or a few pupils when the domination of verbal activities by Mr. Riley was decreased. However, the increased participation in the discussions on the questionnaire may also have been related to the increased willingness to participate voluntarily in reporting activities over time. Moreover, since each student had filled out the questionnaire and had access to it during the activity, the subject of discussion was one in which each student had direct involvement and roughly equal knowledge. In this sense it was similar to reporting activities in which the usual pattern was no domination of the verbal activity by one or a few people.

Talks by Dr. Kline

During the first nine weeks Dr. Kline addressed the class eight times. In these talks he gave information related to the research and reporting activities of the class. Four of those talks covered

the greater part of the class period. The other four ranged in length from 20 to 30 minutes.

The interaction during these sessions was very different from reporting or discussion activities. The students listened for the greater part of the time. Generally, student talk occurred only when someone wished to ask a question or when the teacher made comments about things close to the pupils' experience. Four students, Dan¹, Carl², Kay¹, and Tina¹, interacted with Dr. Kline on a regular basis the first nine weeks. These four students generally made comments or asked questions each time the white teacher spoke. All four of them sat in the center section of the room. Six other students also interacted with Dr. Kline at some time during the series of talks, but not on a regular basis. They were Jan², Jane³, Elbert³, Tom², Dolly², and Marianne⁴.

After one of his talks during the third week, Dr. Kline asked the students if some of them would volunteer to read five books he had brought in and to report later to the group about the relevance of the books to the course. The four pupils who interacted regularly with Dr. Kline volunteered immediately. The fifth person who offered to read one of the books was Dolly², who sat on the right-hand side of the room and who up until this time had not been very active in the class.

The following day after another talk, one more volunteer was sought for a sixth book. Two people, Elbert³ and Jan², volunteered simultaneously. The book was given to Jan². Elbert³ had interacted with Dr. Kline for the first time that day. Jan² had not interacted with him previously, but had been the first student to volunteer to give a report in class.

When Dr. Kline spoke to the group he did not attempt to control the behavior of the students in any way. If a student talked during the activity others told him to be quiet or said "ssh." This kind of social control by the students was necessary only when Dr. Kline continued to speak after being interrupted by comments or questions from the students.

Small Group Work

Work in small groups was done three times during the first nine weeks. The first two times the class divided itself into four groups. One of these groups included the nine females who sat on the right side of the room. They were Marianne⁴, Diane³, Earlene⁴, Daphne², Dolly², Jeannette³, Julia⁴, Carol⁴, and Nell⁴, until she dropped out of school. A second group consisted of all those students who sat in the middle section of the room, except Claude³. A third group was made up of three females, Jan², Jane³, and Marie⁴, and one male, Elbert³, all of whom sat on the left side of the room. The remaining group consisted of four males, Reggie⁴, Tom², and Cecil², all of whom sat on the left side, and Claude³. Only two changes occurred in these groupings in the last meeting of the groups, and they were a merger of the two groups on the left side of the room and a shift on the part of Claude³ to the group in the center section, making three large groups congruent with the three seating sections.

Summary

There were four major kinds of interaction patterns which appeared in the official activities during the first nine weeks. These showed up in reporting, general discussions, lectures, and small group work.

Variations in the internal structure of the group during reporting and discussion activities also were evident.

The lectures by Dr. Kline served the purpose of preparing the students for research activities which, under certain conditions, they were able to carry to completion with a high degree of independence. The maximum limits of this autonomy could not be determined. The situation did not arise when the pupils had the opportunity to initiate a major activity on their own. Within the ongoing activity of the day, however, they often initiated discussions on various topics or restructured those already being carried on and were fully capable of sustaining the activity throughout the meeting. It should be mentioned that research activities included both reporting and small group work. The latter type of interaction occurred very infrequently, but with the same autonomy evident in reporting activities and a high level of verbal interaction among the students in each group.

The ability of the students to carry out research activities on their own was related to several variables, the most important of which appeared to be the actions of the teacher. The components of his behavior which appeared to be most crucial in the development of the internal structure of the class were his location in space, the amount of verbal activity he engaged in, and whether or not he called on specific people to speak. Other factors included the nature of the subject matter, time, and the external environment.

When comparing reporting and general discussions, it was evident that the tendency for a few students to dominate the verbal activities of the class was present to a much smaller degree during reports. This

was probably due to the fact that in reporting each pupil was directly involved in the topic and had roughly equal knowledge about it.

The group seated in the center of the room talked more than the other two groups. The left side was the next most verbally active, and the right side was the least active. There were about an equal number of males and females in each of the top three groups; but in the least talkative group, all the members were females except one, and most of these females sat on the right-hand side of the room.

All 24 pupils participated voluntarily in the verbal activities during this period. The highest rates of verbal response occurred when Dan¹ was in charge of the class and the students reported on problems of the past, during the discussion of the "alienation questionnaire," and during the discussion of male and female roles in the family. The nature of the topics as well as the restricted participation of Mr. Riley were related to the high rates of participation.

In conclusion, this experimental class during the first nine weeks was one in which the students were given some control over the direction of class activities, were free to express themselves on any issue or not to speak at all, and were fully informed several times about the nature of the class and what the instructors were about. Under these conditions the students became self-directing in carrying out activities and the necessity of custodial control of the students by the teacher was practically nil. There were no instances in which the teacher attempted to direct the behavior of the students through subtle or direct promise of reward or threat of punishment.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE: SECOND TIME PERIOD--OCTOBER 31 TO NOVEMBER 24

The analysis of the data collected during the second time period is contained in this chapter. Patterns of interaction during reporting activities, general class discussions, and lectures are presented. Information about student participation during the second time period is reported and comparisons are made between the first and second time periods.

The second time period began with the planning of the first research task at the beginning of the second grading period and ended with the last class period before the student walkout. This time period extended over the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth weeks of the school year. The tenth week coincided with Carver High's homecoming festivities. During the second and last weeks of this period Mr. Riley was absent much of the time because he was teaching a six-week course on "American versus Communism." This course was taught by Mr. Riley to all seniors during their regular English class.

Reporting Activities

Reporting activities were engaged in for 6 of the 15 class meetings in the second time period. One of the research tasks involved interviewing two people about a recent Federal court decision calling for an immediate end to dual school systems in the South. The assignment was given on the Friday prior to the week of homecoming at Carver,

and the reporting began the following Tuesday. These reports and the related discussions lasted for all of two class periods and part of another.

The order of reporting during the first two days of these reports was largely imposed on the class by Mr. Riley as he stood in the front of the room. The first day no opportunity was provided for a voluntary order of participation. Mr. Riley initiated action by telling the class that all reports should be in writing and immediately calling upon three students, Claude³, Harry³, and Elbert³, all of whom had either not done the assignment or had not written it down. At this point Mr. Riley went through the roll giving "0's" to all who said they had not written up the interview.

Following this action he called on Harry³, Jerald¹, Earlene⁴, Julia⁴, and Kay¹ to report. All of these pupils reported, but no discussion followed. After the last presentation Mr. Riley asked the class what they thought of the court decision. A discussion followed in which the teacher made slightly more than one-half of the comments and in which seven people participated on a voluntary basis. Kay¹ made about 40 percent of the student comments.

The second day Mr. Riley did call for volunteers, but when instantaneous response did not come, he began calling on people. Reggie⁴ was asked to report, but he refused. As it turned out, only two reports were given that day. The first was by Carl², who was requested to report, and the second by Jeannette³, who volunteered. A discussion arose out of the latter report, and during it Mr. Riley made about one-half of the comments. Kay¹ accounted for over one-half of the verbal activity of the students, while Jeannette³ made about one-quarter of

the student comments. Seven students participated voluntarily in the discussion.

Diane³ and Dolly² voluntarily gave their reports on the third day. Except for Kay¹ and Mr. Riley, no other persons had any comments. Student disinterest was obvious, as many were staring out of the windows and few wanted to talk. About half way through the class meeting Mr. Riley initiated action to talk about the homecoming events. He asked several people what homecoming meant to them, and six students, Jane³, Jerald¹, Carol⁴, Diane³, Carl², and Elbert³ volunteered comments. Elbert³ asked Mr. Riley to tell the class about homecoming in the past, and the teacher responded accordingly.

Reports did not continue the next day (Friday) and little official activity occurred. Mr. Riley, Elbert³, and Earlene⁴ attempted without success to start a discussion. Elbert³ went to the podium and spoke, but was largely ignored. Later Earlene⁴ made a comment about the same subject, but Daphne² effectively vetoed continuing the talk by saying, "We don't really want to talk about this, do we?" A few minutes before the class ended Mr. Riley mentioned a pep rally which had been held the previous evening. A discussion started in response to his comments, but it was characterized chiefly by everyone talking at once.

It is evident that throughout the week of homecoming there was some difficulty in starting and sustaining activity; few discussions arose, and only ten reports were given. Undoubtedly, much of the change in the class during this week was related to homecoming activities, that is, to events occurring in the external environment. As the students became more involved in these activities, they became less involved in the class. Tardiness was more widespread than usual, and

class was later in getting started. Moreover, many students were absent during much of this time because of involvement in preparation for homecoming festivities, and the absences increased as the week went on. Those involved in homecoming affairs during class time included Dan¹, Jan², Tina¹, Marie⁴, Cecil², and Beth⁴.

It would be difficult to quarrel with the general statement that homecoming, as a series of events in the external environment, was related to changes in the structure and processes of the group and that these changes lessened the group's ability to autonomously carry out activities. It cannot be said, however, that the sluggishness in the activities was related only to these external happenings. The evidence supports the contention that only in the last two days of that week was the group so seriously affected by the external environment that it was unable to continue its activities. During the class meetings prior to these last two days, the behavior of Mr. Riley was not conducive to initiative and independent actions on the part of the students. He remained in front of the class and imposed a largely involuntary order on the reporting activity. He also talked a great deal when discussions arose. Yet many students were ready and willing to report and probably would have volunteered if they had been given the chance. Moreover, some reports did contain material which stimulated comparative and analytical discussion. With the teacher tending to dominate the verbal activity, however, the same pattern emerged as in the first time period: a few students tended to dominate the pupil talk and few volunteered to participate.

The second and last reports during this time period were planned on Tuesday of the thirteenth week and were supposed to be ready the

following day. The students made presentations on the methods of research they had developed as they had carried out earlier assignments and brought out problems they were having in carrying out research tasks. The activity occurred just after Mr. Riley had been absent for five class meetings and during a period in which Dr. Kline was not present in class.

On the first day of these reports there was some difficulty in starting and sustaining activity. Mr. Riley sat among the pupils and began the class by calling for volunteers. In spite of this, with one exception, Dolly², no spontaneous reporting occurred. Seven students responded to direct requests to report, while another eight reported in response to general requests by Mr. Riley, such as "Does anyone else want to report?" or "Does the 'spirit' move anyone else?" Daphne² and Jerald¹ volunteered spontaneously near the beginning of the period, but were stopped from reporting because they had not written out their comments. However, Daphne² reported later with the permission of Mr. Riley. Claude³, Reggie⁴, and Carl² were called on, but refused to respond; Carl² had been absent the previous day. Little discussion occurred during the activity.

The second and final day of these reports, Kay¹ was in charge of the class during Mr. Riley's absence. A white male supervisor from the county office observed the group during this class meeting. Elbert³ reported in response to a general request by Kay¹, and Diane³ reported when called on. Kay¹ initiated a discussion on a different topic when no one else volunteered to talk. After a few comments were made the discussion lagged and Kay¹ tried another topic. This topic, a comparison of the religious practices described by James West

in Plainville, USA and those of the local black community, brought spontaneous response immediately. Participation became even more widespread when Jerald¹ brought up a related aspect of the general topic, the holiness church. After a series of comments, some of which appeared to be critical, the observer spoke, after being recognized by Kay¹, and said that value judgments should be avoided on this subject since some of the students in the class belonged to this church. Another comment was made, after which several students expressed doubts about continuing the discussion. Kay¹ shifted the activity back to reporting. She and Carl² volunteered to make their presentations. Kay's¹ and Carl's² presentations completed all of the reports. Kay¹ terminated the activity and Mr. Riley, who had come in the room a few minutes earlier, resumed control of the class. In all, 11 students participated in the verbal activities of the class while Kay¹ was in charge.

The question arises as to why it was difficult to begin and sustain activity during these reports. In the first place, the variable of time may have been operating here. One evening may not have provided enough time for reflecting and organizing one's thoughts on the topic. Related to this factor were the demands other courses were making on the students. In particular, Mr. Riley had given a great deal of written homework in the "Americanism versus Communism" course. The observer obtained this information from the students when she saw them working on this subject prior to the beginning of the official activities in the experimental class. Furthermore, several students continued to work on this homework during reporting. Such solitary activity was rare on the part of more than one or two people during any one class period. In addition, complaints about the amount of work

given in the "Americanism versus Communism" course were voiced to Mr. Riley by the students during a class meeting. A third factor that might have contributed to the lack of autonomy was the absence for the first time in a major assignment of comments by Dr. Kline to provide relevant information about the task, its nature and purposes, and its relationship to broader topics.

It is evident that a member of the student group was able to accomplish the task of running the class with no more difficulty than the teacher. Kay¹ was able to initiate and sustain activities with an effectiveness that equalled or even surpassed that of Mr. Riley. Hence, in spite of the external and internal conditions which altered somewhat the process of interaction in the class during this period, the group could still function autonomously, though not as smoothly as it had earlier when conditions were more favorable.

The presence of the white supervisor did not appear to alter the structure and process of the group during the time when Kay¹ directed the class. When Mr. Riley resumed control during the last few minutes of the class meeting, the supervisor was introduced and made a brief comment to the group. After this Mr. Riley tended to dominate the verbal activity for the remaining few minutes.

The variables of time, teacher behavior, topic, and external conditions appeared to be related to the internal structure of the class in reporting activities during the second time period, in much the same fashion as they were during the first one. The only major difference which showed up was that impingements from the external environment were much more important during the second period. The behavior of the teacher with respect to his location in space, and the

nature and amount of his verbal activities, continued to be an important factor, but the relationship of this behavior to the internal structure of the student group was somewhat blurred by the external events. The lack of time given to complete both research tasks also probably bore an important relationship to the structure and process of the group during these activities. It will be recalled that one weekend was set aside for completion of the first assignment and one evening for the second.

For the first time the external environment affected the internal structure of the class in such a fashion that it was extremely difficult or next to impossible to continue official activities even with a number of students present in the room. This situation occurred during the last two days of the homecoming week. The "Americanism versus Communism" course also seemed to be related to difficulties in the operation of the group. On one occasion a number of pupils worked on the homework for that class instead of becoming involved in the reporting activities.

In conclusion, during both sets of reports the conditions were unfavorable for the autonomous operation of the class. During the first activity a combination of time, teacher behavior, and the external environment worked against independent behavior on the part of the students. Time and the external environment were obstacles to the functioning of the student group during the second reports. Nevertheless, the evidence points to the conclusion that had the teacher practiced those behaviors which previously had been related to voluntary participation and the initiation of analytical discussions on the part

of the students, the group could have functioned independently during the first reports except for the two class meetings closest to home-coming. More important, however, during the second activity the group proved that it was still able to carry out its activities without major problems during Mr. Riley's absence. This is even more significant when it is taken into account that there were so few presentations left to be made that the activity did not take up the entire time that Mr. Riley was absent and no additional activities had been planned. Hence, for the first time, it was necessary for a member of the student group to think up as well as to initiate a new activity.

General Class Discussions

Only one general class discussion was held in the second time period. It lasted 15 minutes and was initiated by Mr. Riley during the last few minutes of the class meeting after he returned from his long absence. The topic was the special position of "Mother of the Church" in black religious institutions. Eight female students participated in the discussion. They were Jane³, Jan², Kay¹, Daphne², Dolly², Diane³, Carol⁴, and Earlene⁴. In addition to initiating and terminating the activity, Mr. Riley made three comments.

Talks by Dr. Kline

Dr. Kline spoke to the group four times during the second time period. All of these talks took place on days when Mr. Riley was absent for the entire period. The lectures centered around the major research project, observing and recording two church services, currently being worked on by the pupils.

The pattern of interaction when Dr. Kline was in charge of the class did not differ in any important way from what it had been during the first time period. Eight students interacted with Dr. Kline during the four class periods. They were Jerald¹, Jan², Dan¹, Kay¹, Jane³, Tom², Elbert³, and Jeannette³. The first three students talked on two different days while the others interacted with Dr. Kline during only one of the class meetings.

During the course of these talks the students were invited to speak whenever they wished, but little discussion was carried on. What little talking the students did occurred, just as in the first time period, when someone had a question or when Dr. Kline spoke of something close to the experience of the pupils. Once when no one had anything to say, Dr. Kline terminated the official activity prior to the ringing of the bell. A second time he asked the pupils to meet in small groups to consider the topic of the meaning of cultural differences. This was done so that the students would have more opportunity to engage in discussion activities.

The answer to the question of why these students, who were normally quite talkative during class activities, declined to speak when given the opportunity to do so by Dr. Kline, may lie partly in the students' perception of his role in the class. Some of the responses obtained during the final set of interviews relating to Dr. Kline's function in the class were:

He was there to close the gap in the experiment.
(Carl²)

His role was to help on some things that weren't clear. Things Mr. Riley didn't know about, he could give his advice and opinion. (Dolly²)

It seems he was there to give us first-hand facts he found out and by giving us facts we had something to go on. (Beth⁴)

I think he was there to pass on his experience in different places. His were different from Mr. Riley's. (Reggie⁴)

It seemed to me he had the experience. Mr. Riley had just started like we were. He was there to keep the class going if we got to a point where we couldn't carry on and he started us out. He showed us how to do the class. (Tina¹)

His role was to tell about personal experiences in different nations. He taught us how to interview and observe. He had done this. (Kay¹)

He had an advantage over Mr. Riley and Mr. Simmons in that he was more experienced in this kind of a class. He was there to keep things going. (Dan¹)

To me, it seems he was there to help us since he had worked in this field. Sort of like a guidance counselor. (Jane³)

He was there to give us a point of view on the course and how he felt about it and how it could be improved. (Elbert³)

He informed us on things we didn't know, things he had seen as facts, not something out of books. (Daphne²)

These responses are representative of those of the entire group. They suggest that Dr. Kline was seen as an interested advisor and consultant who had something unique to offer in terms of his past experiences. It seems that he was regarded as somewhat of an authority on the subject matter and activities of the class because his personal experiences were more relevant to the course than any of the other personnel of the group. In light of this, the students may have felt that the most appropriate behavior for them was listening and that the information supplied by Dr. Kline was not for discussion, but for

use in carrying out assignments which would be talked about in class.

The students were accurate in their assessment of Dr. Kline's role in the sense that he indicated in an interview that he saw his place in the class in the same manner as the pupils. Prior to Mr. Riley's long absence the relative silence of the pupils was not an obstacle to sustaining the activities of the class. Dr. Kline and Mr. Riley had planned the class so that Dr. Kline had only as much time as he needed to speak about research activities. Other activities could be engaged in as soon as he finished. On the other hand, during Mr. Riley's absence Dr. Kline had more time than he needed to talk about the new research tasks; and since both the church and Thanksgiving observations took more than a week to complete, there were no research activities in which the class might have engaged. Hence, there was some time available in which the students could have discussed the information Dr. Kline had supplied. However, there was considerable difficulty in getting such activity started, probably because it had become a customary practice for the pupils to listen while Dr. Kline was in charge of the class.

While the students' perceptions of Dr. Kline's role in the class appeared to be the major factor accounting for pupil behavior during his talks, other related elements may have been operating in these situations. For example, the limited verbal response he received while he was in front of the room and talking a great deal is congruent with the responses the black teacher received when he engaged in similar behavior. The same nonverbal behavior on the part of the pupils appeared during two relatively lengthy book reports given by Harry³ and Jan² at later times during the term. Furthermore, when Dr. Kline invited

the students to speak he did not pause nor continue to encourage responses when none appeared to be forthcoming. Finally, the racial and cultural differences between Dr. Kline and the class cannot be discounted completely as a factor in the relational system of the class during Dr. Kline's talks.

Student Participation

The relative frequency with which the students participated in the verbal activities of the class is presented in Table 2. Since the pupils retain the number they were assigned during the first time period it is possible to make a rough comparison of the rate of participation on the part of each pupil during the first and second time periods.

The students again fell into four categories in terms of the number of times they talked in class. The divisions between these categories were determined in the same manner as during the first time period. There were, however, some differences in these categories from the first period. Kay¹ was the only class member in group one, as she talked more than twice as many times as Jan² and Dan¹, who were the only pupils in group two. Eight pupils were clustered together in a third group, with the remaining 12 pupils falling into the least active group.

In terms of seating section and sex, the most active student in the class was a female who sat in the center of the room. Group two was composed of a male and a female and represented the left and center seating sections. Group three, with two males and six females, included two students from the center, two from the left, and four from

TABLE 2

STUDENT GROUPINGS BY PARTICIPATION, SEATING SECTION,
AND SEX DURING THE SECOND TIME PERIOD

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>Sex</u>
Kay ¹	1	Center	F
Jan ²	2	Left	F
Dan ¹	2	Center	M
Jerald ¹	3	Center	M
Elbert ³	3	Left	M
Tina ¹	3	Center	F
Daphne ²	3	Right	F
Diane ³	3	Right	F
Dolly ²	3	Right	F
Jeannette ³	3	Right	F
Jane ³	3	Left	F
Tom ²	4	Left	M
Cecil ²	4	Left	M
Earlene ⁴	4	Right	F
Harry ³	4	Center	M
Claude ³	4	Center	M
Marianne ⁴	4	Right	F
Marie ⁴	4	Left	F
Carol ⁴	4	Right	F
Carl ²	4	Center	M
Julia ⁴	4	Right	F
Beth ⁴	4	Center	F
Reggie ⁴	4	Left	M

the right. The least active group was composed of six males and six females and included four people from each seating section.

This data revealed that as a group the female students became more active and the males less active during the second time period. Relative to the left and center sections, pupils sitting on the right side of the room participated more during the second time period than the first one. This corresponds with changes in the relative verbal activity of males and females, since all students in the right section were females.

It can be seen that the frequency with which Dan¹, Tina¹, and Jerald¹ participated sharply declined relative to Kay¹. Dan¹ and Tina¹ were frequently absent on account of their being involved in other school business. Jerald¹ was present most of the time, and in spite of the fact that he dropped into the third group, he was still the fourth most active pupil in the class.

The reasons for the changes in the frequency of participation of individual pupils other than the number of absences each one had are undoubtedly very complex and are beyond the scope of this study. However, these changes probably were related to factors which affected the group as a whole and not just one or a few individuals. These general factors can be observed and isolated for investigation.

The major variables related to the internal structure of the student group during the second time period had the obvious effect of reducing the verbal activity of the students. First of all, the second time period was only one-third as long as the first one. Secondly, the external environment impinged on the internal operations of the

group a great deal more during this second period than it had in the first nine weeks. Thirdly, Mr. Riley's behavior during the first reports was related to a marked decrease in the amount of student discussion. The combination of these factors was related to the overall decrease in the participation of the pupils in the verbal activities of the class during the second time period and help explain why there was such a large number of pupils in the least active group.

Summary

The most important variable related to the changes in the internal structure of the class from the first to the second time period was the external environment in terms of homecoming and the involvement of Mr. Riley and the students in the "Americanism versus Communism" course. The increased involvement of the students in the homecoming events interrupted the official activities of the class for all of one class meeting and part of another. The "Americanism versus Communism" class removed Mr. Riley from the relational system of the class for several class periods and involved a great deal of extra work for the students. Mr. Riley's absence in itself did not interfere with the operation of the class, but the fact that projects which involved active participation on the part of the pupils had not been planned, more or less relegated the pupils to the role of passive listeners for the better part of a week. The additional work was related directly to the lack of involvement on the part of some students during a reporting activity.

The behavior of Mr. Riley and the factor of time seemed to be significantly related to the relational system of the student group during the second time period. Mr. Riley remained in front of the class

and talked more than usual during the first reporting activity. The response of the students remained the same as during the first time period: limited to a relatively few number of pupils and involving little analytical discussion. Because of the relative lack of planning in advance for the activities during the second period, little time was given to complete either research task.

In conclusion, the overall conditions were not favorable for the smooth and uninterrupted operation of the class nor for a high degree of autonomy and involvement on the part of the pupils. However, in spite of the unfavorable circumstances, the students were able with only slight difficulty, to conduct official activities without the aid of an instructor. In addition, the ability of the group to initiate new activities on its own was proven for the first time.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE: THIRD TIME PERIOD--DECEMBER 12 TO DECEMBER 19

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected during the third time period. Patterns of interaction during reporting activities, general class discussions, and lectures are presented. Information about student participation during the third time period is reported and comparisons are made between the third time period and the previous periods.

The third time period was relatively short. It began the first day of class after the termination of the student walkout and ended with the beginning of the Christmas holidays. It included a total of just six class days. The end of this period coincided with the last time Mr. Riley attended the experimental class because he resigned his position at Carver High to take a job at the local junior college.

First of all, it must be mentioned that the after effects of the walkout definitely were manifested in the ongoing activities of the classroom group at certain times within the third period. With the exception of planning a research assignment on the walkout events, no official activity occurred Friday, December 12, the first day school reconvened. Many students were in and out of the classrooms and halls interacting with each other and bringing written "excuses" to the appropriate administrative officials. The noisy procedure of "validating" these excuses was conducted just outside the room in which

the experimental class was meeting. Official activity was late in beginning on Monday because of the same conditions.

Because the students had missed so many days of school, there was much work to be made up, and the students were under considerable pressure from other teachers to complete all this work prior to the Christmas vacation period. On Wednesday the students in the experimental class requested and were granted permission to go to the library during the class meeting to do some of the make-up work.

In spite of this very powerful impingement from the external environment, the class did manage to engage in official activities during some of the third time period. As the structure and process of the interaction of the group during these activities are described, it will become evident that the walkout related to aspects of the class in addition to those discussed above.

Reporting Activities

Two of the six days during this period were devoted to reporting activities. During these two meetings the class was conducted by students because Mr. Riley was still involved in the "Americanism versus Communism" course. Carol⁴ was in charge of the class the first day and Daphne² assumed the responsibility on the second day. During these two days all of the observation reports on Thanksgiving activities were completed and five reports on the church observations were given.

The first day reporting took place only during the last half of the period. Marie⁴, Tom², Daphne², Carl², and Carol⁴ volunteered to report and Jan² and Cecil² reported upon request. Eleven out of

21 students participated in the activity.

A significant change in the interaction process during reporting events became evident during this session. Marie⁴ was the most verbally active person in the room. She made more than 25 percent of all comments and talked more than Carol⁴, who was in charge. Perhaps more significantly, it was Marie⁴, and not Mr. Riley, who initiated action to begin the Thanksgiving reports.

During this class meeting simultaneous response and informal talk were more widespread than during any other previous reporting activities. At times it was difficult to hear the person who was giving the report. Marie⁴, Jan², Carol⁴, and Dan¹ attempted to quiet the class at different intervals. All were successful to some degree, but Marie⁴ was the most effective in stopping the simultaneous talk.

The following day reporting activities continued with Daphne² in charge. Except for Daphne², Marie⁴ engaged in the most verbal interaction, but no one student tended to dominate the class. Some of the reporting was done by request, but most of it occurred voluntarily. Nineteen out of 20 students participated in the verbal activity during this class period. Outbursts of simultaneous talk did not occur as frequently as they had on the preceding day.

At one point during the class period, when it appeared that no one else wanted to report on his Thanksgiving observations, Daphne² suggested that the class move to the presentation of church observation reports. Some of the students objected, pointing out that not everyone had reported on his family's Thanksgiving Day activities. Seven more reports were given; five by students who volunteered and one each by the white teacher and the observer, both of whom were called on.

Following these reports, Daphne² terminated the activity and initiated action to begin reports on the church observations. Jan¹, Diane³, Jane³, Marie⁴, and Dan¹ made presentations before the bell rang.

During this series of reports, Reggie⁴ reported voluntarily for the first time in the experimental class. Only Marianne⁴ and Julia⁴ remained in the group who had not reported without being requested to do so. Marianne⁴ was absent during this activity, and Julia⁴ was encouraged to report by several of her classmates.

It is obvious that some changes occurred in the structure and process of the group from the second to the third time period and that some of these changes were probably related to the student walkout. A dramatic increase in verbal activity on the part of Marie⁴ took place. This increase in Marie's involvement in the class may have been related to the fact that she had been one of the most important leaders of the student body during the walkout. At any rate, this change turned out to be a permanent one which altered the structure of the group for the remainder of the experiment.

A more temporary change which may have been related to the walkout was the marked increase in simultaneous verbal activity during the official events of the experimental class on the first day of the Thanksgiving reports. That is, the relative difficulty the group experienced in carrying out activities the first day as compared to the second one, was undoubtedly due in part to the unsettling effects of the walkout. However, these differences may also have been related to the relative influence of the students in charge. Daphne² previously had been considerably more active than Carol⁴ in the verbal behavior of the group.

Another change which may have been related to the walkout experience was the increase in the number of comments and questions by the students between each of the Thanksgiving reports. Previously, during activities in which the data in any one report did not lend itself to comparative analysis, straight reporting was the predominant pattern. During the reports in this third time period many questions were asked about the reports and several statements were made in response to them.

The data showed clearly that in spite of the interference in group interaction and activities brought about by the student strike, the group was able to carry out its activities independently and involve most of the members in them with little trouble. Except for external interferences, conditions were optimum for the exercise of autonomy. Activities had been planned well in advance with plenty of time to complete the tasks. Mr. Riley was not in the room and most of the group was present. Under these conditions, it could be observed that since activities had been planned with the students in advance, the teacher was not needed to initiate a new activity whenever a previous one was completed during a class period. Transition from one major research project to another was accomplished without difficulty.

General Class Discussions

Only one general discussion was held during the third time period. It took place on the next to the last day of school before the beginning of the Christmas holidays. The subject of this discussion was a vandalism incident that had occurred in the school building the previous evening. The discussion was initiated by Mr. Riley, who

dominated the verbal activity by making several long comments and by speaking frequently. Seven students out of 21 became involved in the activity. Tina¹ and Kay¹, both of whom dominated the pupil talk in the first general class discussion of the year when the same pattern of teacher dominance occurred (although to a lesser degree), together made about 60 percent of the student comments. Next in line were Jerald¹ and Marie⁴, who together accounted for another 27 percent of the student remarks. As many as ten students were working on other activities during this "discussion."

Talks by Dr. Kline

Dr. Kline spoke to the group only once during the third time period. His talk concerned the Thanksgiving and church observation reports. He spoke for about 15 minutes, during which time he summarized these two activities.

Student Participation

In Figure 3, the students are grouped the same as previously, according to the frequency with which they entered the verbal activity of the class. The group number of each pupil during the first two time periods is included after the names so that the changes which occurred may be noted.

Again, the students were classified into four groups according to the frequency of verbal interaction during official class activities. There are differences and similarities between these groupings and those of the first and second time periods. The most active group included four students as it did during the first time period. Tina¹

TABLE 3

STUDENT GROUPINGS BY PARTICIPATION, SEATING SECTION,
AND SEX DURING THE THIRD TIME PERIOD

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>Sex</u>
Tina ^{1,3}	1	Center	F
Marie ^{4,4}	1	Left	F
Dan ^{1,2}	1	Center	M
Daphne ^{2,3}	1	Right	F
Kay ^{1,1}	2	Center	F
Jerald ^{1,3}	2	Right*	M
Carl ^{2,4}	3	Center	M
Carol ^{4,4}	3	Right	F
Reggie ^{4,4}	3	Left	M
Jan ^{2,2}	3	Left	F
Julia ^{4,4}	3	Right	F
Jane ^{3,3}	4	Left	F
Diane ^{3,3}	4	Right	F
Elbert ^{3,3}	4	Left	M
Jeannette ^{3,3}	4	Right	F
Dolly ^{2,3}	4	Right	F
Earlene ^{4,4}	4	Right	F
Tom ^{2,4}	4	Left	M
Harry ^{3,4}	4	Center	M
Cecil ^{2,4}	4	Left	M
Beth ^{4,4}	4	Center	F
Marianne ^{4,4}	4	Right	F
Claude ^{3,4}	4	Center	M

*During this period Jerald shifted from the center to the right section.

and Dan¹ once again were in this group after falling into less active groups during the second time period. Marie⁴ and Daphne² were in group one for the first time. Group two was composed of Kay¹, who previously had been in the most active group, and Jerald¹, who fell into group three during the second period. Group three included Julia⁴, Reggie⁴, and Carol⁴, all of whom formerly had been in the least active group; Carl², who had fallen into the least active group during the second period; and Jan² who previously had been in group two. Group four had 11 pupils. They were Earlene⁴, Beth⁴, and Marianne⁴, all of whom had been in this group all year; Tom², Cecil², Harry³, and Claude³, the four who placed in this group during the second period; and Diane³, Jane³, Elbert³, Jeannette³, and Dolly², all of whom had been in higher groups during the first two periods.

When looked at according to sex differences, group one included three females and one male; group two was composed of one male and one female; group three was made up of four females and two males; and there were seven females and five males in the least active group. The relative amounts of participation between the male and female groups remained about the same during the third period as it had been in the second one.

The least active group was composed of three pupils from the center seating section, five from the right, and four from the left. Group three included one pupil from the center and two from both the right and the left. Group two contained one student each from the center and the right. The most active group included two from the center and one from both the right and the left. There were no significant

changes in the relative frequency of student participation among the seating sections between the second and third time periods.

In spite of the fact that the third time period was less than half as long as the second one, the frequency of verbal activity on the part of the students was about the same during these two periods. It should be recalled that the conditions were unfavorable for student involvement and autonomy during the second time period. Circumstances in the third period were more conducive to student participation and independence especially since the students were left to their own devices because of Mr. Riley's absences and the fact that activities had been planned several weeks earlier.

Summary

The external environment was an important variable relating to the structure and processes of the classroom group during the third time period, just as it had been during the second one. However, unlike homecoming, the student walkout did not seem to reduce the capacity of the group to carry out its activities autonomously. The class, in the absence of Mr. Riley, operated smoothly and the student group initiated a major activity on its own. This was the second time the necessity for such action arose in the experimental class, and the group was able to meet the challenge effectively both times.

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE: FOURTH TIME PERIOD AND GENERAL SUMMARY

An analysis of the internal structure of the class during the fourth time period is included in this chapter. Following the report of the fourth time period is a general summary of the nature and development of the internal structure of the experimental class over the entire term.

Analysis: Fourth Time Period--January 5 to January 29

The fourth time period covered all of the class meetings from the reconvening of school after the Christmas holidays until the 29th day of January, when Carver High School was closed permanently. Since Mr. Riley did not return to school after Christmas and Mr. Simmons had not yet arrived, a substitute teacher was in charge of the class for the first day. Mr. Simmons arrived the following day and was brought into the class and introduced by Mrs. Willis, the assistant principal in charge of curriculum.

A Federal court decision handed down after the first of the year ordered the local schools to desegregate by the first of February rather than the following September. According to the altered plan, which was made public in the second week of this time period, Carver was to be closed on January 23. During the week of the 23rd, however, it was decided to delay the closing for one more week. Final grades were due the week of the 23rd, but the school was to remain open through

Friday, January 30. In actuality, the school was closed by county officials on Thursday, January 29, because of some violent incidents that occurred at the end of the school day in and around the school.

Patterns of interaction during reporting activities, general class discussions, and talks by Dr. Kline are presented in this section. Information about student participation during the fourth time period is reported and comparisons are made between the fourth period and the other three time periods.

Reporting Activities

Out of the 19 class periods during this time, six and one-half were devoted to reporting activities. Two research tasks were involved and both had been planned prior to the Christmas holidays. These assignments were a comparison of the celebration of Christmas in the past and the present and the church observations.

Two full days and over one-half of another day were spent in reporting and discussion activities relating to a comparison of Christmas in the past and the present. The first day of reporting was also the first day Mr. Simmons was in charge of the class. The order of reporting was one which included spontaneous presentations by Kay¹, Jane³, and Daphne², and five reports given in response to specific requests. Mr. Simmons at first had some difficulty in getting students to volunteer. He finally initiated action on the reporting activity by giving a report himself. Some discussion did occur between the reports with 12 people participating, but many of these comments involved a dialogue between the person reporting and the teacher. More than half of the student comments were made by Marie⁴, Tina¹, and Dan¹.

Mr. Simmons made almost 40 percent of all comments.

With one exception, all reports were given without specific requests the second day. Jerald¹ was asked by Mr. Simmons to report, but refused to do so until Dan¹ said, "Be cooperative, Jerald." Two students, Reggie⁴ and Claude³, who in the past rarely had volunteered to present their data, and Julia⁴, who never had reported voluntarily, did so without specific requests during this class meeting. During the last half of the meeting, when pauses occurred in the reporting activity, the group attempted to incorporate those who had not yet reported into the ongoing activity and interaction. These attempts were successful. This same pattern occurred previously during the family routine reports and the Thanksgiving reports.

During the second day of the Christmas reports and accompanying discussion, Mr. Simmons accounted for about 30 percent of the comments. Seventeen students participated, with no one or a few students tending to dominate the verbal activity. Claude³ and Dan¹ were the most verbally active pupils during this period. Part of the reason these two students were the most active is because they exchanged hostile remarks at one point when Dan¹ interrupted Claude's³ report. This was the only time during the term when observable hostility arose between individual pupils.

During the second day of the Christmas reports simultaneous talk was so frequent and widespread that it was difficult to hear some of the reporting. Several times Mr. Simmons and Dan¹ attempted to quiet the group by saying, "ssh," or "Ya'll be quiet." Each time they were temporarily successful in varying degrees. In addition, there was a more than usual amount of movement around the room on the part of certain

students the second day. Jerald¹, Dan¹, Claude³, and Marie⁴ left their desks during the official activity to go elsewhere in the room. This was usual behavior only for Jerald¹.

Dr. Kline was absent during the second day of the Christmas project, but returned the following day. The simultaneous talk which had been the predominant pattern on the previous day was almost nonexistent. The activity consisted of reporting data gathered in interviews with parents or grandparents on the celebration of Christmas in the past. When this assignment was made before the holidays a considerable amount of complaining about it was done by the students. Although all of the students reported on their observations of their family's present Christmas traditions, only a few of them completed the interviewing portion of the research project.

Mr. Simmons initiated action on the activity by asking who had done the interviews. Marie⁴ said that she had, but when asked if she would like to start off the class, she replied, "Not necessarily." After this, when Mr. Simmons asked for the hands of those who had completed the activity, she began reporting. A few more reports were given and when no one else spoke, Mr. Simmons drew Dr. Kline into the discussion by asking about the Christmas traditions in his experience. During these reports and the discussion, Mr. Simmons made about one-third of all of the comments, and 11 students participated. Dan¹, Tina¹, and Marie⁴ made about 70 percent of the student remarks.

The discussion of differing Christmas traditions lasted until a few minutes before the bell rang, at which time Mr. Simmons shifted the activity to the church reports by asking the students about the nature of the task. After Marianne⁴ gave a report in response to a

specific request, Daphne², Dolly², and Marie⁴ volunteered to report. During this activity, Mr. Simmons made about 25 percent of the comments. Eight students were involved in the activity, six of whom had participated in the previous event, and none of them dominated the verbal activity. Several questions were asked of the reporters and the students began to initiate comparative discussions.

Reporting continued the following day. Six presentations were made, and a voluntary order of reporting was followed. Twelve pupils participated in the activity, with Dan¹, Jerald¹, and Marie⁴ making about 60 percent of the student comments and Mr. Simmons accounting for about 25 percent of all of the comments.

The official activity began when Jerald¹ initiated a discussion by asking Marie⁴ a question about her report given on the day before because he wanted to compare her response with his data. Spontaneous comparative discussion between well-organized and detailed reports was the pattern of activity for the day. In spite of the fact that there were four adults in the room: Dr. Kline, Mr. Simmons, Mrs. Willis, and the observer, all of whom participated to some extent in the verbal activity, long comparative dialogues were held. These were initiated by students and involved predominantly or exclusively student participation.

On the second full day of the church reports 17 students participated in the verbal action and six reports were given in voluntary order. The same pattern of detailed reporting and comparative discussion initiated by the students occurred. Mr. Simmons made slightly less than one-third of all comments and no one or a few students tended to dominate the verbal activity. Marie⁴ and Tina¹ were

the most active participants.

One-half of a third day was spent on individual church reports. Two more students and Mr. Simmons reported. The teacher made slightly more than one-third of all comments. Nine students participated, with Dan¹ and Marie⁴ together accounting for nearly 60 percent of the student remarks.

Special comprehensive church reports, to provide opportunities for deeper analysis and more extensive comparison, were given on each of the four protestant churches represented by the class members and the Catholic Church. Extra credit grades were offered as a reward by Mr. Simmons for those who would volunteer to give these presentations. Marie⁴ and Jane³ were the only pupils who volunteered. Carl², Dan¹, Jeannette³, and Marianne⁴ were invited to participate and all accepted except Marianne⁴.

On the day the reports were to be given, there was some difficulty in getting the activity started. Jeannette³, who had agreed to report on the Catholic Church, did not return to school at all after the reports were planned. Dan¹ was asked if he would like to begin and said, "No, let the others start." Carl² said he was looking through his notebook for his notes. Mr. Simmons then gave a report on the Catholic Church after which Marie⁴ told Carl² to go ahead with his presentation. He was followed in a voluntary order by Jane³, Marie⁴, and Dan¹. Comparative discussion occurred after each report with 12 students participating in the activity, Dan¹ and Marie⁴ made about one-half of all student comments, while Mr. Simmons contributed about 30 percent of all comments.

The introduction of Mr. Simmons into the relational system of the class and Mr. Riley's withdrawal from it increased the complexity of an already complicated social situation. In addition, a most serious impingement from the external environment was present. This external force was related to the awareness of the pupils that their school would be permanently closed in a short time. These factors together with the relatively brief time Mr. Simmons was with the class made it extremely difficult to generalize about the interactional system of the class during reporting or any other activities in this time period. However, with a due amount of caution and some qualifications, some general statements and tentative conclusions were extracted from the data.

In order to simplify the situation somewhat, the variable of time can be disposed of right away. Lack of time was not an obstacle to the operation of the group during reporting activities in the fourth time period. The Christmas project had been planned before the holidays and the church observations had been discussed in the first part of November.

The differences between the two topics dealt with in the research tasks appeared to be of some importance in the variations occurring in the internal structure of the class. There was almost no problem in initiating and sustaining activity during the church observation reports. The presentations were well organized and detailed, and several comparative and analytical discussions were initiated by the students between the reports. In contrast there were some minor difficulties in getting and keeping activity going during the Christmas reports, and comparative discussions were initiated mainly by Mr. Simmons.

There are ~~are~~ possibly other factors in addition to the subject matter being considered which contributed to the differences in the patterns of interaction between the two projects. The Christmas reports were given the first few days after the arrival of Mr. Simmons, and several students voiced objections to the entire project when it was assigned prior to the vacation period.

The refusal of most of the students to complete the interviewing portion of the Christmas assignment points to the conclusion that regardless of other conditions, such as sufficient time and a voluntary order of participation, activities with which the students are not in favor will not be carried out in a class in which participation is voluntary and not gained through threats or coercion. The reason for the students' disapproval of the Christmas project and the refusal of most of them to complete it could not be determined with any degree of certainty. However, the complaints of the pupils when the assignment was given offered some clues. For example, Tina¹ said that she had hoped to complete all of her school work prior to the holidays so that she would not "have to worry about it." In an interview Daphne² suggested that the reasons for the unfavorable attitude toward the task was that Christmas is a time for "fun" and not "work."

The data did not suggest that the poor response had anything to do with the complexity of the task. The church reports, which were completed by almost every group member, were not only more difficult and complicated in terms of assembling data, but also were more time consuming.

Throughout the reporting activities Mr. Simmons' behavior remained relatively constant. He always remained in front of the room seated

at the teacher's desk, standing beside it, or sitting on top of it. The frequency of his verbal activity did not vary significantly. Except for the first day it ranged between about 25 to 35 percent of the total verbal activity. A voluntary order of participation usually was followed in reporting. On rare occasions when Mr. Simmons did request a student to report, the student usually refused to report at that particular time. Thus, Mr. Simmons did not change his behavior a great deal from day to day with respect to his location in space or the amount of verbal activity he engaged in, and a voluntary order of reporting was consistently followed partly because the students refused to allow an involuntary pattern to be imposed upon them by Mr. Simmons. Hence, whatever variations there were in the internal structure of the group during reporting activities within this time period had little to do with the relationship of Mr. Simmons and the class.

Changes in the patterns of interaction in reporting activities within this time period were related to the relationships among the students. On five of the seven days devoted to reporting activities, two or three pupils accounted for 50 percent or more of the pupil talk. Dan¹ and Marie⁴ were among the most active participants in all five events. Tina¹ was a dominant spokesman on two days, and Jerald¹ was one of the most active pupils on one occasion. In all five of these activities, except for one which lasted for only one-half of a period, slightly more than half of all pupils present participated in the verbal action of the class. In comparison, during the two reporting periods in which no one or only a few students made a large percentage of the remarks, almost everyone present spoke at least once.

Manifestations of social disintegration, which turned out to be only temporary, were observable in the group shortly after the withdrawal of Mr. Riley and his replacement by Mr. Simmons. The pattern of interaction in the class during Mr. Simmons' second day was similar to that which appeared during the first reporting event after the student walkout. However, the disintegration related to Mr. Riley's resignation appeared to be more severe than that experienced in connection with the walkout. Simultaneous talk which bore no relationship to the official topic being discussed was more widespread during the second incident. In addition, hostility broke out between two of the pupils and there was a great deal of movement in space by some of the students.

The data on reporting activities suggested that, in large measure, the teacher-student relationship was not operating during the fourth time period. It appears that Mr. Simmons was not accepted as a person with the right to exercise authority over the pupils or to control the direction of the activities of the class. In the first place, the students had the tendency to resist the efforts of Mr. Simmons to place them in a subordinate position. Many times he received no response when he attempted to initiate action to the pupils, while in the same situation the students would respond to one another or would become involved spontaneously in the activity some time after they had refused to do so at Mr. Simmons' request.

Secondly, in spite of the fact that much of Mr. Simmons' behavior was not conducive to the autonomous operation of the class, with the exception of the Christmas interview reports the group had little difficulty in carrying out its activities independently. Mr. Simmons'

presence in front of the room and his frequent attempts to enter the ongoing verbal activity and structure the discussion in his way did not appear to interfere with widespread and spontaneous student participation and initiation of comparative discussions. Moreover, the number of students involved in different reporting activities did not vary with the slight fluctuation of verbal activity on the part of the teacher.

It is possible to reach only the most tentative conclusions until the relationship of Mr. Simmons to the rest of the class is explored more fully. This cannot be done in a satisfactory manner until the interactional system of the class during general class discussions is considered. It can be said at this point, however, that the data thus far presented suggest that the nature of the relationships between the two black teachers and the students, and the students' perceptions of the two men, were radically different.

General Class Discussions

General class discussions occupied eight full class periods and part of another during the fourth time period. Participation in the discussions ranged from as few as nine class members to all except one. Teacher comments ranged from as high as one-third to as few as seven percent of the total recorded comments.

Since the first class discussion was held the day the substitute teacher was in charge of the class, it occurred under a unique set of circumstances. The substitute asked for an explanation of the nature of the class from the group. Marie⁴, Kay¹, Dan¹, and Elbert³ responded to his request. When it was discovered that few students were ready

to report on the Christmas research project, the substitute initiated a general discussion on the topic of Christmas. During the course of the class meeting the historical, religious, and secular significance of the holiday was considered. When the substitute asked if it was permissible to discuss the religious aspects, Dan¹ replied, "We can discuss anything."

There were no significant difficulties in getting the group members to talk. Thirteen students participated, with Dan¹ and Tina¹ together making about 40 percent of all student comments. Dan¹ made a greater number of remarks and Tina¹ a number equal to those of the substitute. Since simultaneous response was rather widespread, many of the substitute's comments involved only a "ssh." The simultaneous talk was related to the topic being discussed. Possible explanations for the unusual amount of simultaneous response are the presence of the substitute, the fact that this was the first day of school after a long holiday, and the nature of the topic.

The next three discussions happened during the second and third weeks of this period and all of them dealt with some aspect of the impending desegregation of local schools and the simultaneous phasing out of Carver High School. The first of these discussions occurred in the first class meeting after it became known to the students that the process of desegregation was to take place in February rather than in September. Mr. Simmons, after hearing the students discuss the issue prior to the beginning of the class, asked them if they would like to spend class time on it. Dan¹, Jan², and Tina¹ decided that the class would do this.

During this class period nine students took part in the verbal interaction. Marie⁴, Tina¹, and Dan¹ were the most vocal students in the class and accounted for around 70 percent of the student comments. Marie⁴ made a greater number of comments than Mr. Simmons and Tina¹ made a number equal to his. Mr. Simmons made about 20 percent of all comments and most of these came during the first few minutes of the discussion.

Three students who were not members of the experimental group came into the room at varying points in time and joined in the discussion. All three remained in the class until the bell rang. Two of these students were female and one was a male. The male had been one of the two major spokesmen for the students during the walkout and when he entered the room his presence was acknowledged by Tina¹, Jerald¹, and Marie⁴. During the course of the discussion the male student initiated action to Mr. Simmons by asking him if he felt that the students of Carver High should lose their school. The teacher responded with a comment explaining his position.

The second of these discussions was concerned primarily with the student walkout. Eleven persons participated on a voluntary basis, with another two responding to invitations from Mr. Simmons to give their opinions. Marie⁴, Tina¹ and Dan¹ made slightly over 60 percent of the student remarks. Marie⁴ talked more than Mr. Simmons, who accounted for about one-quarter of the verbal activity.

The students covered the sequence of events that had occurred during the walkout. As the events were listed, Mr. Simmons wrote them on the board. He had considerable difficulty in spelling several words. The incorrect spelling was called to his attention by the

students and considerable laughter and joking occurred in relation to it. At one point Mr. Simmons and the students disagreed about whether there were one or two t's in a word. The teacher asked the observer about the matter and she held up one finger affirming the contention of the students. The teacher said to the group, "I told you it was one." This remark brought widespread laughter. During the last half of the period Claude³ went to the front of the room and told Mr. Simmons that he would do the writing. As Mr. Simmons gave him the chalk Claude³ said to him, "Be cool, Brother." Claude³ continued to write on the board whenever necessary until the bell rang.

In the last of the three discussions, 13 students spontaneously entered into the activity, with an additional four responding to Mr. Simmons' invitation to express their opinions. Tina¹, Dan¹, and Marie⁴ made slightly less than 60 percent of all student comments. Mr. Simmons contributed about one-third of the total comments.

Most of Mr. Simmons' remarks came during the first part of the discussion. During this time he attempted to structure the activity along the lines he wished it to go. The students refused to go along with this and many sat with their hands up as he spoke. The more active students spoke without being recognized. At one point Dan¹ told Mr. Simmons that he was asking the wrong question of Carol⁴. A few minutes later, as the involvement became increasingly intense, Mr. Simmons said to the class, "Wait! Listen!" to which Marie⁴ replied in a loud and authoritative voice, "You listen!" After this Mr. Simmons spoke very little except to say "Wait!" when simultaneous response became widespread.

This third discussion was primarily concerned with the pros and cons of the recent Federal court decision, a matter on which there was considerable disagreement among the class members. Since student involvement was particularly intense in this activity, outbursts of simultaneous response were frequent, especially toward the end of the period when most of the class members were trying to participate. Mr. Simmons had little success in halting this response. Finally, Kay¹ went to the front of the room and addressed the class saying that anyone who wished to speak should raise his hand first. All was quiet for the remainder of the period as the dialogue continued.

The bell did not terminate the official activity. About one-half of the class stayed for a few minutes in order to continue the discussion, and as they dispersed into the halls they continued to talk about the subject. Dan¹, Marie⁴, and Carol⁴ remained for the first ten minutes of the second period, continuing to interact among themselves and with Mr. Simmons and the observer.

The next class discussion occurred under a unique set of circumstances. Before Monday of the last week all official activities of the class were completed and the final grades had been turned in. Mr. Simmons came to class without any plans for the day so he did not initiate action to begin activities. A few minutes after the bell rang, Marie initiated a discussion on an incident which had occurred in the black community over the weekend. Ten students participated, with Marie⁴ and Kay¹ being the most active. Marie⁴ made more comments than anyone else, including Mr. Simmons. The discussion lasted for 20 minutes, after which Mr. Simmons and the students made plans to hold discussions over the next few days on the topics of "the pill"

and drugs.

The discussion of "the pill" turned out to be a more general consideration of the problems of contraception and related issues. This activity lasted for two days and was the first one since the arrival of Mr. Simmons in which a variation in the distribution and relationship of personnel in space took place. At the suggestion of Mr. Simmons, the students divided themselves into two groups; one group was to present arguments favorable to the pill and the other was to report the negative aspects. One group sat in the left seating section and the other on the right. The two groups faced one another with no one in the middle. Under these conditions all students present, except Reggie⁴, participated, with neither one nor a few pupils dominating the discussion. Marie⁴, Kay¹, and Harry³ engaged in the most verbal interaction. Marie⁴ spoke more times than Mr. Simmons, who made fewer than 10 percent of all comments. At one point when Mr. Simmons asked if he could enter into the discussion, Marie⁴ said, "No, you've stepped in once too often already."

In addition to the spatial arrangements, other factors appeared to be important in contributing to the widespread participation and intense involvement in this activity. These were the nature of the topic and the fact that for the second time during the term males and females formed opposing groups. The conflict between the sexes arose during the second half of the period. After this, simultaneous response broke out frequently and a few times the two groups literally shouted at one another. Moreover, some of the pupils stood up to make their points, and Harry³ pounded on the desk as he stood and spoke. Kay¹ went over to Carl² and Tom² and told the former to sit down and

shook her fist in the face of the latter. At one point Jerald¹ stood up and calmed everyone so that the discussion could continue in a somewhat orderly fashion. It should be recalled that a similar pattern of interaction occurred earlier when male and female roles in the family were discussed. This pattern of interaction took precedence over the pro and con groupings Mr. Simmons attempted to impose on the class.

The following day when the discussion was continued, the same pattern persisted, but with less intensity. Participation on the part of both the pupils and Mr. Simmons remained about the same. Kay¹, Tina¹, Marie⁴, and Jerald¹ were most active, but no one dominated the discussion.

The final discussion was on the topic of drugs and involved role playing by several students who volunteered to participate in the activity. These pupils were Kay¹, Jerald¹, Carol⁴, Tina¹, Dan¹, Carl², and Marie⁴. The roles included parents, teenager, ex-drug user, drug pusher, and social worker. The rest of the class could enter the discussion at any point as interested members of the community. Those who were role playing sat in the center section together. Mr. Simmons, who participated in role playing by permission of the pupils, made about seven percent of the comments with six pupils, Kay¹, Jerald¹, Tina¹, Marie⁴, Dan¹, Jan², speaking more than he did. Thirteen class members participated, with no domination of the discussion. Two females who were not members of the experimental class sat in on the activity. One of these girls remained for most of the period and participated in the discussion.

Involvement in the discussion became relatively intense toward the end of the period as those who opposed the use of drugs tried to

convince the "younger generation" of their harmful consequences. Marie⁴ wanted to make a point during this time and after several attempts succeeded in getting the class completely quiet. Before she could make her point, the bell rang. She responded to this by saying, "We'll continue this tomorrow and I'll be on time." However, because of the incidents in and around Carver that afternoon, tomorrow never came for that particular classroom group.

In summary, there was little difficulty in getting and keeping class discussions going during this time period. Rates of participation varied widely and appeared to be related to several factors. One of these variables was the nature of the topic being dealt with. For example, Marie⁴, Tina¹, and Dan¹ tended to dominate the verbal activity during the three discussions which had to do with desegregation. All three of these students served in some capacity in the student government at Carver and, hence, were official student leaders during the walkout. Their leadership roles gave these three students a more complete knowledge of the issues related to the desegregation crisis and a more intense involvement in the problems accompanying it.

On the other hand, during the discussions on birth control, drugs, and Christmas, the frequency of verbal activity by these three students was much less relative to other class members. Voluntary participation was significantly higher during the two discussions on birth control than in any other general discussion activity during this time period. The nature of this topic appeared to have played an important part in the high rate of involvement in this situation especially since it was a subject on which the males and the females could disagree. Another important variable related to the widespread

participation in these discussions was the altered spatial arrangement.

In contrast to the birth control discussions, the spatial arrangements, during the discussion on drugs appeared to lessen the number of students who talked. In this case, those who were playing roles sat together in the center section. In addition, those students who had specific parts probably felt more of a sense of involvement in the activity than the other pupils. As a result, those seven students who were role playing tended to dominate the discussion.

It is possible that the behavior of Mr. Simmons may have encouraged the dominance of Marie⁴, Tina¹, and Dan¹ during the desegregation discussions. Once the activity began and these students talked the most, Mr. Simmons tended to face in their direction and to place himself in space nearer to their position in the room. Marie⁴ sat on the left side of the room and Tina¹ and Dan¹ sat in the center, thus making it possible for the teacher to stand in such a way as to exclude from the dialogue effectively the students sitting on the right side of the room. This was especially true during the first two discussions in which Jerald¹ and Dolly² were the only group members from the right seating section who became involved in the discussion.

During the third discussion, participation became more widespread as four people from the right side were invited to participate by Mr. Simmons and Carol⁴, Jerald¹, and Daphne² spontaneously entered the dialogue. However, it is doubtful that the increase in participation was due solely to the fact that Mr. Simmons modified his behavior and his position in space. The topic under discussion brought disagreement among the class members, which probably was a factor contributing to the intense involvement.

A major change in the interactional system of the class in the fourth time period during discussion as well as reporting activities was a dramatic increase in the rate of verbal interaction. The number of comments made per class period was two to three times the number made during the other time periods. This change is not surprising in light of the conditions that existed during this time period.

The group reconvened after the holidays to learn that a drastic change had occurred in the internal structure of the class: Mr. Riley had resigned. The students had not been prepared for Mr. Riley's sudden withdrawal from the class. They were not informed of the matter until after Mr. Riley was already at work in his new job. Dr. Kline learned about the resignation after the first class meeting following the Christmas vacation period. He told the class about it the next day.

Secondly, external events related to the desegregation of local schools may have had something to do with the increase in the rate of interaction. The decision to desegregate the schools earlier than originally planned became known in the second week of the period, only a few days after the students learned that Mr. Riley would not return and that they were faced with the necessity of adjusting to a new teacher.

The topics considered by the class during the fourth time period also seemed to have contributed to the increase in the amount of verbal behavior. This increase was characteristic of all of the discussion and reporting activities held in this period. The only important differences found among the topics was that in discussing and reporting

activities relating to Christmas there was in general a slower rate of interaction than in other activities. This was so probably because the other major topics, desegregation, birth control, the church, were related to an intense level of involvement on the part of the pupils. Even though at times this involvement affected only part of the class, the result was an increase in the number of comments made by those actively participating and a corresponding decrease in them when other class members decided to speak. This intense involvement is portrayed by data which show that over one-half of the class members exhibited an ever present readiness to participate in class activities on almost every occasion and by the fact that in no case did activities end abruptly with the ringing of the bell. This extension of activities after the official termination of the class meetings was more pronounced in some cases than in others, but the differences were those of degree.

Another factor that seemed to be related to the change in verbal interaction is the nature of the relationship between Mr. Simmons and the students. The increased verbal activity may be partially explained as another form of resistance to Mr. Simmons' attempts to impose his authority on the group. The students, particularly the more active ones, seemed at times to be vying with Mr. Simmons for control of the verbal activities of the class.

The examination of the internal structure of the class during discussion activities supported the assertions made earlier that the student-teacher relationship was not operating in the same manner during the fourth time period as it had been when Mr. Riley was a

member of the group. The data gave strength to the contention that Mr. Simmons was not seen as a teacher by the group.

To begin with, the attempts of Mr. Simmons to structure discussions according to his liking were effectively stopped by the students. Moreover, his participation in discussion activities generally decreased as the dialogue progressed. The data point to the conclusion that this decline in Mr. Simmons' participation was partly related to the students' refusal to allow him to dominate the verbal activities. Marie⁴ was the primary force in stifling his attempts to direct the discussion, but several other pupils, particularly Dan¹, also had a hand in this. It should be recalled that when Mr. Riley attempted to dominate the discussion, he was allowed to do so, even though attention was not always given to what he was saying.

During periods of intense involvement when outbursts of simultaneous talk were widespread, the data revealed that Marie⁴, Dan¹, Jan² Kay¹, and Jerald¹ had at least as much, if not more, influence in getting the group's attention and in slowing down the interaction process so that discussion might proceed in a more orderly manner.

In the discussion of the walkout, when Claude³ took over the task of writing on the board, his behavior, both verbal and nonverbal, revealed that he felt no qualms about initiating action which placed Mr. Simmons in a subordinate position. Behavior of this kind never before had occurred on the part of any pupil.

Another event which has not been mentioned previously may shed further light in the area of Mr. Simmons' relationship to the students. The interactional process in this situation provides additional examples of the resistance of the students to Mr. Simmons' attempt to

control the direction of the class. One day Mr. Simmons told the pupils that a short comparison of the way of life as presented in Plainville, USA and that described in The Irish Countryman should be included in their final notebook. In the course of explaining the task he told the students not to try to "fool" him about this because he would be able to tell that someone did not do the assignment correctly if one student said one thing and another student a different thing. Marie⁴ quickly responded by telling him that various individuals see things differently and that in light of this the interpretation of the material and what is selected to be included may be different for different people. Mr. Simmons said that some things are not open to interpretation such as whether or not tractors are used. Tina¹ replied that things were just not that simple and began explaining how more than one cultural group was included in Plainville, USA, some of whom used tractors and some that did not. She also explained that the cultures were different in other ways such as housing and religion.

A few minutes after this incident Mr. Simmons initiated action on reporting activities by saying that he did not have grades for some people on these reports. After a pause Carl² informed Mr. Simmons that the class members were not supposed to be forced to give reports in this class. Mr. Simmons agreed to this and a volunteer came forth.

Data obtained from the final set of interviews with the pupils supplied further evidence about the place of Mr. Simmons in the social system of the experimental class. The following quotes were the responses of some of the students when asked by the observer to comment on Mr. Simmons as a teacher:

He was all right, I guess. He wasn't as good as Mr. Riley. He acted more like a student. (Marianne⁴)

He did not seem like he was serious in what he was doing. Just there for fun. He was young and some of the students didn't think he could manage the class. (Beth⁴)

He was a younger version of teacher. Hadn't been out of college too long. I accepted him as part of us, "Mr. Cool." (Claude³)

He was not much more experienced than we were. He wanted his own way and we wanted ours. It didn't work. Young to young respect has to be mutual. He has no right to tell me right from wrong. (Cecil²)

I don't think the class accepted him as a teacher. All the students liked him--being young was a point on his side. (Dan¹)

We mostly took him just like a substitute, didn't seem like our teacher. He tried to control people, but it didn't work. (Julia⁴)

I don't think he was an experienced teacher and didn't get respect like Mr. Riley. (Reggie⁴)

The class didn't accept him as a teacher. They accepted him as a member of the group. Some put him down in discussion by telling him he was wrong. I don't think they had any business trying to do that. (Earlene⁴)

He classified himself as a student, spoke like a student, almost on the level of a student. He took an interest in speaking out his opinion. He tried to conform you to his opinion. (Jerald¹)

We didn't get to be with him very much. He was a pretty nice teacher. But there wasn't much he could share. He was young and things haven't changed much since he was our age. (Marie⁴)

He was a young teacher that I didn't know too well, but I don't think he was better than Mr. Riley in any way. I'm not saying I disliked him, he was okay, but to me he was just part of the group, didn't seem like a teacher--sort of "groovy." (Carol⁴)

I didn't like him. He wasn't patient or anything. I don't think he was qualified to teach a class like that. He tried to act younger than he really was. He tried to act like he was hip. Kids can spot a phony. (Dolly²)

I think the class communicated with him. He seemed to enjoy the class as much as we did. He was younger and seemed as defensive about the Carver problem as we did. (Kay¹)

These responses represent 13 of the 22 pupils interviewed. All of the other nine responses were similar in meaning and intent.

There is much variation in these comments in that some of them reveal a definite dislike for Mr. Simmons, others seem rather detached, and still others indicate a rather positive attitude toward him. However, there is a basic commonality among all of them which is congruent with the analysis of the observation data in the area of the relationship of the students to Mr. Simmons. Taking all of this evidence together it seems reasonably safe to conclude that Mr. Simmons was never accepted as the teacher of the experimental class. It appears, rather, that he was regarded more as an equal of the students, as a part of the group, and as possessing little more experience and authority than the students themselves. The group generally listened to him when he wanted to give an opinion or share an experience, but he was not allowed to dominate and direct the activities.

The difference in the nature of the relationships between the two black teachers and the pupils becomes even more apparent when the relationship between the behavior of the two teachers and the autonomous operation of the class are compared. On the one hand, in order for the group to exercise autonomy when Mr. Riley was the teacher it

was necessary for him to limit his participation purposefully and preferably to withdraw himself from a position in front of the group. On the other hand, the group maintained a high degree of autonomy during the fourth time period regardless of the behavior of Mr. Simmons, which in many instances aimed at undermining the independent operation of the student group.

The fact that for all practical purposes there was no teacher present during the fourth time period did not disrupt or prevent official activities from being carried on. The activities did not depend on the presence of an authority figure. However, had the class not been allowed to develop a considerable degree of independence, had the students not been completely informed as to the purposes of the activities and to what the instructors were about, and had they not been furnished with channels by which they could provide feedback through which they could influence the organization and activities of the class, the functioning of the group after the arrival of Mr. Simmons most certainly would have been different. There is a good possibility that a high degree of social disintegration and chaos would have been the situation and that Mr. Simmons would have functioned primarily in a custodial role.

Talks by Dr. Kline

Dr. Kline addressed the class only once during the last time period. The occasion for his doing so occurred on the second day of school after the Christmas holidays when he informed the students of Mr. Riley's resignation. He suggested that since semester grades had to be turned in shortly, the students should compile a notebook of the various activities the class had engaged in over the term. He

also had the class decide on the order that previously planned activities should take place.

Tina¹, Marie⁴, Elbert³, Kay¹, Jerald¹, and Tom² engaged in verbal activity with Dr. Kline during the 20 minutes he was in front of the class. No simultaneous talk occurred while he was in charge of the class as it did the day before when the stbstitute taught the class and during the next two days when Mr. Simmons took over the class. It was during Dr. Kline's talk that Mr. Simmons was brought in and introduced to the group by Mrs. Willis. The nature of the class was explained to him briefly by Dr. Kline in the presence of the students.

Dr. Kline was present during most of the class periods in the fourth time period, but participated only when invited to do so. It is interesting to note that the temporary social disintegration evident in the class the second day after Mr. Simmons arrived was largely checked on the reappearance of Dr. Kline, although he did not speak except very briefly at the invitation of Mr. Simmons. If Dr. Kline was a factor in influencing the group at this point perhaps it was because he represented continuity with the past, was accepted as part of the class, and was known by the students to be interested in them.

Student Participation

In Table 4 the students are grouped according to the frequency of their participation in the verbal action of the class during the fourth time period. The groupings were determined in the same manner as in the previous time periods. This time the frequency clustered into five divisions which seemed to be more descriptive than the four of the other time periods. The group numbers of each students from the other three periods are included after the name.

TABLE 4

STUDENT GROUPINGS BY PARTICIPATION, SEATING SECTION,
AND SEX DURING THE FOURTH TIME PERIOD

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>Sex</u>
Marie ^{4,4,1}	1	Left	F
Dan ^{1,2,1}	1	Center	M
Tina ^{1,3,1}	1	Center	F
Jerald ^{1,3,2}	2	Right	M
Kay ^{1,1,2}	2	Center	F
Jan ^{2,2,3}	2	Left	F
Carl ^{2,4,3}	3	Center	M
Daphne ^{2,3,1}	3	Right	F
Tom ^{2,4,4}	3	Left	M
Jane ^{3,3,4}	3	Left	F
Cecil ^{2,4,4}	3	Left	M
Harry ^{3,4,4}	4	Center	M
Carol ^{4,4,4}	4	Right	F
Claude ^{3,4,4}	4	Center	M
Elbert ^{3,3,4}	4	Left	M
Earlene ^{4,4,4}	4	Right	F
Marianne ^{4,4,4}	4	Right	F
Dolly ^{2,3,4}	4	Right	F
Beth ^{4,4,4}	4	Right	F
Diane ^{3,3,3}	4	Right	F
Reggie ^{4,4,3}	5	Left	M
Julia ^{4,4,3}	5	Right	F

There were few significant changes in the relative frequency of participation of individual students from the third to the fourth time period. The most drastic change was made by Daphne², who dropped from category one, the most active group, to category three. Other students in group three included Tom², Jane³, and Cecil², all of whom moved from group four, and Carl², who was in group three during the third period. Except for Daphne's² shift, group one remained the same. The only change in group two was that Jan² rejoined it. Eight of the nine members of the fourth group had been in this category in the third period. Diane³, who moved down a notch, was the exception. Julia⁴ and Reggie⁴ were the only members of group five, the least active group.

Group one included two females and one male. One of these students sat on the left side of the room and the other sat in the center section. Group two also included two females and one male and represented all three seating sections. Group three was made up of three males and two females. Three of its members sat in the left section, one in the center, and one on the right. Three males and six females made up group four with six of the group members sitting on the right side, two in the center and one on the left. Group five, the least active group, contained one male and one female and represented both the right and left sides of the room.

The male students as a group became more active and the females less active than they had been during the second and third periods. Relative to the left and center sections, pupils who sat on the right side of the room participated less during the last time period than they did during the second and third periods. This corresponds

with the relative verbal activity of males and females, since, except for Jerald¹, all students in the right section were females. With respect to the relationship between frequency of participation, sex, and seating section, the final time period was similar to the first one.

The amount of verbal activity on the part of the pupils was higher during the final time period than in any of the others. This difference relates to the increased rate of interaction which has been thoroughly discussed in the section on general class discussions in the fourth period. Another important factor related to the higher level of student participation is that more general class discussions were held during the final time period than in any of the other periods. Eight and one-half days were devoted to this kind of activity in the fourth time period as compared to four days in the first period, and part of one day in each of the second and third time blocks.

Summary

The external environment was a factor of the utmost importance in the development of the internal structure of the class during the final time period, just as it had been in the second and third periods. First, Mr. Riley withdrew from the relational system of the class and was replaced by Mr. Simmons. Secondly, the experimental class was terminated four months early as a result of the immediate court-ordered desegregation of the local schools.

The activities of the fourth time period were mainly those of reporting and discussion. Patterns of interaction during both kinds of events were characterized by an increase in the rate of verbal

exchange. This modification of the relational system of the class appeared to be related to the nature of the topics being discussed, events in the external environment, and the nature of the relationship between the students and Mr. Simmons.

The student group did not accept Mr. Simmons as their teacher and successfully resisted his attempts to undermine their autonomy. Nevertheless, neither the virtual absence of a teacher nor the severe impingements from the external environment prevented the official activities from being carried out smoothly and effectively.

Summary: Analysis of Internal Structure

A description and analysis of the internal structure of the classroom group as it developed over time has been presented in the last four chapters. The data were analyzed within the framework of four time periods and in terms of certain interdependent variables which were set forth in the beginning. These variables are the nature of the relationships existing in the group, the activities of the class, the topics of discussion, time, and the external environment.

In terms of these variables, it was discovered from an analysis of the data during the first time period that there were certain conditions which fostered the autonomous operation of the group. These conditions included planning research projects so that sufficient time was available to complete them, the consideration of topics which led to involvement on the part of the students and which lent themselves to comparative analysis, an absence of severe impingements from the external environment, and particular behaviors by the teacher.

Teacher behaviors which contributed to student autonomy were a limited amount of verbal activity, permitting a voluntary order of speaking, and leaving the front of the room. The actions of the teacher appeared to be the most important component related to the ability of the group to exercise initiative and carry out activities with a high degree of independence.

The external environment proved to be a crucial factor during the last three time periods. Impingements from the outside were related to many changes in the structure and processes of the group. However, with the exception of homecoming, these external events never so crippled the group that its members were unable or unwilling to continue its activities in situations in which a majority of the pupils were present.

Possibly the most severe external impingement on the group occurred during the last time period when the social system of the classroom was thrown into severe disequilibrium by Mr. Riley's withdrawal from it. It was during the first few days after this occurrence that the assumptions on which the class was based were put to the most severe test. The data showed that the students rejected Mr. Simmons as a teacher and an authority figure, but most appeared to accept him as a member of the group. It was discovered that the class was able to carry out its official activities in the absence of a student-teacher relationship.

During each time period the students were classified into groups according to their relative frequency of participation in the verbal activities of the group. An examination of Table 5 reveals that some of the students remained in approximately the same relative position

TABLE 5
STUDENT GROUPINGS BY PARTICIPATION
OVER THE FOUR TIME PERIODS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Numbers Periods 1-4</u>
Dan	1,2,1,1
Tina	1,3,1,1
Kay	1,1,2,2
Jerald	1,2,3,2
Marie	4,4,1,1
Jan	2,2,3,2
Daphne	2,3,1,3
Carl	2,4,3,2
Tom	2,4,4,3
Cecil	2,4,4,3
Dolly	2,3,4,4
Jane	3,3,4,3
Diane	3,3,3,4
Elbert	3,3,4,4
Harry	3,4,4,4
Claude	3,4,4,4
Carol	4,4,4,4
Earlene	4,4,4,4
Marianne	4,4,4,4
Beth	4,4,4,4
Reggie	4,4,3,5
<u>Julia</u>	<u>4,4,3,5</u>

over the term while others fluctuated a great deal. However, there was only one case of a member of the least active group becoming part of the most active one, and no cases of the opposite kind occurred.

The students who belonged to the most active groups were the ones most instrumental in maintaining the autonomy of the group when it was being threatened by external events. Also, it was these pupils who proved able to get the other group members to respond to them in various situations.

In conclusion, as the term progressed it was found that the student group was able to maintain its stability and independence under increasingly unfavorable conditions when activities had been planned in advance and had the approval of the students. Moreover, not only did the group become more self-directing, but it was unnecessary for the teacher to function in the custodial role. This was true whether Mr. Riley, Dr. Kline, or Mr. Simmons was in charge of the class. In the case of Mr. Riley and Dr. Kline, interruption of class activities due to disorderly behavior on the part of the students did not arise as a serious problem. Minor difficulties were taken care of by the students themselves with a word to those who were creating the disturbance. Some social disintegration did take place when Mr. Simmons was in charge of the class and he attempted to deal with it, but the situation ultimately was brought under control each time by pupils.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STUDENTS' IMAGE OF THE CLASS

The report of the analysis of the internal structure of the experimental group in Chapters IV through VII presented the class as seen by the observer through the use of event analysis. The present chapter is concerned with reporting how the pupils saw the nature, purposes, and development of the class and how they interpreted what they were doing in the class. Interviews with the pupils are the primary sources of data from which a summary of their perspectives on the experimental class was constructed.

The interviews were conducted for two purposes. First, they provided research data for the observer. Second, the interviews were conducted in order to obtain feedback from the pupils for the instructors. The teachers utilized this feedback for guidance in planning and operating the class. In general, the observer attempted to find out in the interviews: 1) how each student saw his part in the class; 2) what each student thought he and the other students were learning in the class; 3) what each student saw as the major goals and purposes of the class; 4) how each student thought the class could be improved; 5) how each student saw the experimental class in comparison to other classes.

Before beginning an interview, the researcher asked the permission of the interviewee to record his comments in writing. These interviews were open ended and unstructured. The researcher was interested in

obtaining information in specific areas, but she did not follow a list of predetermined questions. She usually initiated the interview by asking the student how he thought the class was progressing or how he saw the class at this point. After this, the researcher obtained the desired information through responding to comments made by the student and by asking him to elaborate on some of the points he mentioned.

The pupils were interviewed by the observer three times. The first series of interviews took place during the first time period in the last of September and throughout most of October. Most of the second interviews were held in the third time period during the week prior to the Christmas holidays, but a few were done in the beginning of the fourth period, during the first and second weeks of school after Christmas vacation. The final series of interviews were held in the latter part of April and the first three weeks in May. At this point in time Carver High School had been closed for about three months, so that it was necessary for the interviews to be conducted in the schools to which the students had been transferred. Nineteen members of the experimental class had been transferred to the predominantly white high school located in College City. Three female students were attending a consolidated high school in a rural area about 15 miles distant.

Each set of interviews is presented separately in the order that they took place. After this the information is summarized and some general statements about the pupils' views of the experimental class are made.

The First Series of Interviews

In the first interviews, the researcher was interested in obtaining the student's point of view about: 1) the goals, educational values, and nature of the class; 2) whether or not each group member was having as active a part in the class as he would like; 3) the differences and similarities between the experimental class and other classes; 4) the changes that should be made in the activities and organization of the class.

Twenty-two out of twenty-three pupils referred to the comparative perspective of the class at least once during the session. Many of these comments were made in relation to the extensive comparisons the students were making between the past and the present. The following are examples of such statements:

Now I really think about the way things change.
What my grandparents say has a different meaning
now. (Diane³)

I never thought about the differences between us
and our grandparents. Now I see that some of our
ways of living are traditional, have been passed
down to us, and that some of them have changed
over time. (Jan²)

One of the purposes of the class is to see how it
was when our parents and grandparents grew up--to
see the changes in the patterns of life from our
parents' and grandparents' generation. (Marianne⁴)

This is the first time we got history from a living
soul. . . . It helps us to know about our fore-
fathers and the type of life they had. We can gain
from their experiences. (Jerald¹)

Other references to comparison dealt with contrasts between the
local way of life and other cultures and to differences between groups

of people in general. Typical statements made in relation to these things are:

I am learning that people are different. (Dolly²)

I have learned about the differences in ways of living in different places. (Beth⁴)

I have compared our way of life with Ireland and seen how our culture is different from theirs. I read the book about the Irish. (Dan¹)

One of the purposes of our class is to look at the problems of other people and our own and see that some are similar and others are different. (Tina¹)

I have learned some pretty interesting things about the customs of others. (Harry³)

Nineteen of the twenty-three pupils mentioned acquisition of the research skills of observation, interviewing, and recording as being an important aspect of the class. Marianne⁴, Carol⁴, Elbert³, and Daphne² were the exceptions in this regard. In some cases, these skills were brought up in the part of the interview relating to ways in which the experimental class was different from other classes. In other situations, they were talked about in connection with the goals or educational values of the course.

All of the 19 students saw these skills as a means of acquiring information about events and about people's feelings, opinions, and ways of life. Dan¹, Jan², and Cecil² said that an increase in listening skills was an incidental value of engaging in these research processes. Five students, Earlene⁴, Dolly², Jan², Tina¹, and Tom², stressed the increased awareness and alertness gained with regard to things happening in one's environment; and Carl² and Kay¹ said that mastering these

skills, especially interviewing, would help one become more socially competent. That is, one would learn how to "say the right thing at the right time," "how to get people to talk with you," and, in general, to communicate more effectively with others.

Another important area of consensus among the pupils was related to the full opportunity to participate in and exercise some control over the activities of the class and the freedom to express oneself openly on all issues. Every student interviewed made at least one reference to the high degree of student involvement and control in the experimental class as compared with other classes, and most mentioned it more than once. Some examples:

You can't hold back what is on your mind. You talk and get involved. We discuss what we like in our own terms. It's giving us a little control over the ball. (Carl²)

We have more discussion in this class and they are more open and in this class you can learn from the students and not just the teacher. (Earlene⁴)

Everyone is given a chance to say what they want to say. The participation is more broad. In other classes only two or three do all of the talking. (Tina¹)

We can speak what we feel and think, but we are not forced to participate. (Claude³)

People participate in this class and try to do all of the assignments. In most classes you have to use a little force. (Daphne²)

In other classes, the students wouldn't have volunteered to read books. Most of us don't like books that well. (Carol⁴)

This class is not so boring as others. You can express yourself. I think it's wonderful. In other classes you have to be so quiet. (Jerald¹)

It's new to us. It all seems like a discussion, but we learn from each other while doing it. (Jane¹)

We don't have as much freedom in other classes or open discussion. (Dolly²)

A significant minority of the students indicated that they thought a major purpose of the class was to help the pupils acquire social skills. This probably was related to the students' belief that the experimental class was one in which the customary practice was a high level of pupil involvement and verbal activity. Carol⁴, Beth⁴, Dolly², and Tina¹ mentioned the class as helping people "get over their shyness." It may be recalled that Kay¹, Tina¹, and Earlene⁴ spoke of learning to relate more effectively to people as a result of carrying out the research tasks. Cecil² mentioned the class as helping him to learn to express himself better, and Reggie⁴ said that a goal of the class was to help the students get along better with others.

The problem of shyness in speaking out in class was mentioned by several students. In addition to those who said the experiences in the class were helping them get over their reluctance to speak out, Earlene⁴ and Marianne⁴ expressed anxieties about participating in the verbal activities of the class. These two girls were among the six students who said they were not having as active a part in the class as they would like. They attributed their inactivity to shyness.

The other four pupils who desired to take a more active part in the class were Harry³, Joan⁴, Elbert³, and Reggie⁴. All of these pupils except Harry³ interpreted this question as asking them if they talked as much as they wanted to. Harry³, when stating his desire for a more active role, indicated that he would like to do more individual

research.

It can be seen that all who said they felt the need for a more active part in the class were in the two lower groups in terms of frequency of verbal participation. Of the six who mentioned shyness as a problem, four were in the lowest group. It is interesting to note that no males mentioned shyness as a concern.

Nine class members indicated that they thought the students had not been given enough work to do and that they would like to do more. These students came from each of the four groups and included Earlene⁴, Marianne⁴, Dan¹, Diane³, Elbert³, Nell⁴, Tom², Julia⁴, and Jerald¹.

All of the class members except Marie⁴ reported that they saw the experimental class as being significantly different from any other class they had taken or were taking. The differences upon which most of the group members agreed have been discussed earlier; they were the comparative perspective of the class, the greater degree of student involvement, participation and freedom, and gathering first-hand information through observation, interviewing, and recording.

Another difference mentioned by a sizeable number of pupils was the absence of examinations, textbooks, or both, in the experimental class. The students who mentioned these things were Elbert³, Tina¹, Reggie⁴, Carl², Marianne⁴, Marie⁴, Diane³, Kay¹, and Beth⁴. All except Elbert³, who said he would like a textbook, reported positive feelings about having no test or textbooks.

The only other difference between the experimental course and other classes mentioned in the interviews was that the former had more than one teacher. Dan¹, Carol⁴, and Reggie⁴ spoke of this as being a unique and positive feature of the class.

When asked for suggestions for improving the course, Jane³, Jerald¹, Daphne², Cecil², Marie⁴, Carol⁴, Jan², and Dolly² said that none were needed. Many of the suggestions given simply requested more of the things already being done in the class. These included more individual research (Carl², Dan¹, Harry³), more discussion (Dan¹, Tom²), more instruction in interviewing (Tina¹), more talks by Dr. Kline (Claude³, Reggie⁴), more small group work (Carl², Claude³), and more book reports (Diane³, Julia⁴).

Other suggestions involved those which would have the effect of slightly altering the activities and organization of the class. Examples of such suggestions are: make the discussions more orderly (Earlene⁴, Beth⁴), speed up the activities (Kay¹), use films (Beth⁴, Julia⁴), compare the experimental class with other problems of American democracy classes (Tina¹), invite other teachers to observe the experimental class (Nell⁴), put the reports in a set order (Diane³), and always recognize everyone who has his hand up (Marianne⁴).

In addition to those statements made by Earlene⁴ and Beth⁴ relating to disorder, by Marianne⁴ concerning recognition of all students, and by Kay¹ suggesting the movement of class activities was too slow, there were other critical comments about the class. Dan¹ and Beth⁴ complained of boredom during the family routine reports, and Marie⁴ said too much talk by the instructors made her "get tired and sleepy." Marianne⁴ said she saw no purpose in drawing the diagram of the modern kitchen since "anyone can draw an outline of a kitchen." Finally, Jane³ said, "A lot of my classmates resent people coming in every day and writing things down." This comment was the major impetus

in bringing the instructors to redefine the nature of the course during the ninth week of school.

Some examples of additional positive remarks are:

I think it's fun. I like it. (Tina¹)

It's a great class. (Daphne²)

I've learned everything you learn isn't dull.
It can be fun and exciting. (Carl²)

I wrote a paper in another course about this
class as being the one I was most interested in.
(Dolly²)

No student mentioned writing skills as one of the objectives or values of the course, even though the instructors held improvement in writing as a goal for the pupils. Mr. Riley frequently urged the students to write out their reports, and once during the second time period he even went to the extreme of giving all who had not written their assignments a "0." Nevertheless, frequently several students did not write out the reports they gave orally; and three students, Cecil², Reggie⁴, and Tom², did not turn in the final written assignment for the first nine weeks. It should be mentioned, however, that some of the papers which were turned in were quite detailed, well organized, and involved extensive comparative analysis.

It is interesting to note that only Jerald¹ mentioned anything about research being conducted on the students in the experimental class. He said one of the purposes of the class was to "draw up original data and publish a book on how the students feel."

In summary, the students in the first set of interviews saw the experimental class as different from other classes. They seemed to perceive the class as an experience in which they were making comparisons

of their life in the present to ways of life remote in time and space and in which most of the subject matter dealt with in class was gathered and constructed by them through observation, interviewing, and recording. Hence, the students saw themselves as being involved in the kinds of processes which make up the method of natural history and comparative analysis.

The students obviously saw themselves as being actively involved in the class projects and as possessing considerable control over the direction of the class from day to day particularly in the area of verbal activities. All of the students, except Marianne⁴, felt that they were in no way forced to participate. Marianne⁴ apparently felt some pressure along these lines as she complained about "having to go to the teacher's desk" when she reported and said that it was "scary enough" when she remained at her own desk.

The data suggest that the freedom of expression permitted and encouraged in the experimental class was highly valued by the students and that the attitudes toward the large amount of student talk for the most part were positive. The customary practice of frequent discussions was related to the beliefs on the part of some of the students that the purposes of the course included improvement of the pupils' social skills and finding out their opinion about things. This practice was also apparently an important factor in prompting some of the students to discuss with the observer their problems about speaking out in the class.

The critical comments and the suggestions for improvement indicate no major dissatisfactions with the class or any quarrel with the basic nature and objectives of the course. However, with respect to writing

skills and the research purposes of the class, there is a strong possibility that there were differences in the views of the students and the instructors.

The Second Series of Interviews

Most of the second interviews were held just after the student walkout, while Mr. Riley was still a teacher at Carver. Because of scheduling difficulties, seven interviews were conducted after the Christmas holidays, when Mr. Simmons was in charge of the class.

In the second series of interviews the observer was interested in obtaining information about the student's perceptions concerning:

- 1) the relationship between understanding the walkout and the skills and knowledge acquired in the experimental class;
- 2) the changes which had occurred in the class since the first interviews;
- 3) the changes that should be made in the activities and organization of the class;
- 4) whether or not each group member was having as active a part in the class as he would like;
- 5) whether or not each group member felt he was making satisfactory progress in the class.

All of the 23 pupils except Julia⁴ reported seeing some relationship between understanding the walkout and the learning experiences in the experimental class. Julia⁴ said that the class had never discussed anything like the walkout. The most frequent response to the question was that being skilled in observation and other research techniques helped in understanding people's attitudes toward the walkout, their behaviors in relation to it, the effects of various actions on the students' goals, and the like. Kay¹, Tom², Harry³, Reggie⁴, Carl², Dolly², Beth⁴, Jane³, and Cecil² talked about observation skills in

connection with understanding the walkout. Beth⁴, Daphne², and Elbert³ said that in the experimental class one finds out through research the "why" of things and that this enabled them to better understand the walkout. Dan¹ said that through class activities he had improved his listening skills and that this helped when his committee negotiated with the school board. Marianne⁴ and Tina¹ said that through carrying out research tasks they had increased their social skills, which enabled them to speak more adequately in defense of the students.

The next most frequent response was the connection between class activities dealing with the nature of black-white relationships and the changes in them over time and the student strike. Comments about these connections were made by Carol⁴, Earlene⁴, Jeannette³, Diane³, and Elbert³.

Four students said that the knowledge gained in class about differing cultural traditions and viewpoints was helpful in gaining a deeper understanding of the significance of the walkout and the issues involved in it. Tina¹ and Jerald¹ related ideas about the persistency of cultural traditions to the attitudes of some of the black parents who opposed the strike and to some of the white population's attitudes toward black people. Beth⁴ and Jan² brought up the idea of differing points of view and traditions as they were operating among the groups affected by the walkout.

The students were asked by the observer if their skills had continued to develop since the last interview. All of them except Carol⁴ said their skills in observing, interviewing, or both, and recording had improved. The second most frequently mentioned area of skill development was that of communicating more freely, confidently,

and adequately with other people. Tina¹, Carol⁴, Marianne⁴, Jeannette⁴, Beth⁴, Reggie⁴, Diane³, Elbert³, Cecil², Marie⁴, Dolly², Jan², and Dan¹ spoke of social skills in their interviews. Dolly², Jan², and Dan¹ emphasized that their relationships with other people were facilitated because they were better able to listen and understand different points of view, while the other pupils stressed increases in their adequacy in expressing themselves. The other kind of skill referred to was writing. Three students, Earlene⁴, Harry³, and Reggie⁴, said they thought they had increased their skill in writing.

There was no general agreement about changes that had occurred in the class since the last interviews. Carol⁴, Cecil², Marianne⁴, Tom², and Carl² reported that they saw no significant changes. Nine students expressed the opinion that the class had improved in one or more ways. These students were Kay¹, Jeannette³, Reggie⁴, Beth⁴, Jan², Dan¹, Diane³, Julia⁴, and Jane³. Their comments included such things as believing that communication among the personnel was better, student participation had increased, the class was moving along more smoothly, and the class was more interesting.

Dan¹ qualified his remarks when he talked about the class becoming better since the last interview. He said the improvements were characteristic of the class only until Mr. Riley had resigned and that since the arrival of Mr. Simmons the class "did not seem to be together." Claude³, Jerald¹, and Cecil², all of whom had also been interviewed after Mr. Riley's departure, expressed regret and concern over losing their teacher. Marie⁴, Jane³, and Julia⁴ were interviewed during this period also but did not bring up the change in personnel.

Eight pupils reported perceptions of the class in conflict with those described above. Earlene⁴, Harry³, Claude³, Elbert³, Daphne², Marie⁴, Dolly², and Jerald¹ said they felt, in one way or another, that the class was not going as well as it had previously. Earlene⁴, Elbert³, Daphne², Dolly², and Claude³ were concerned about the progress of the class. They felt the class was not progressing rapidly enough and that much class time was being wasted by both the students and the teachers.

Dolly² and Earlene⁴ said that some of the students were being rude by talking during other people's reports. Claude³ and Dan¹ expressed similar concerns about small, informal conversations going on in the class. It should be recalled that these two pupils exchanged hostile remarks when Dan¹ talked during Claude's³ report and that during the first few days after Mr. Simmons' arrival, Dan¹ initiated action several times to stop simultaneous talk.

Harry³, Marie⁴, Earlene⁴, Elbert³, Daphne², and Dan¹ appeared to be concerned about the research tasks. All of them said they felt the class was not doing enough outside assignments and requested that more be given. Jan², although not among the eight pupils who said the class was not progressing well, also put in a request for more outside work.

Harry³, Elbert³, Jan², and Dan¹ said they were not having as active a part in the class as they would like because there were not enough research activities. Reggie⁴, Marianne⁴, Earlene⁴, and Claude³ also said they were not satisfied with their part in the class, but each gave different reasons for this. Reggie⁴ said that he was not interested in some of the activities. Marianne⁴ and Earlene⁴ again com-

complained of having a problem of shyness. Claude³ said that he was having economic difficulties and that worrying about this affected his performance in the class.

There were a few complaints about the nature of the class activities. These grievances came mainly from the group which felt the class was not progressing as well as it had been, but also from those who saw improvements in the class or no significant changes. Diane³, Carl², Beth⁴, and Marie⁴ voiced complaints about Plainville, USA, saying that it was a dull book. Otherwise, these four pupils expressed satisfaction with the kinds of activity in which they were engaged. Jane³, Tom², and Kay¹, on the other hand, said they enjoyed the book and found it helpful.

There were three pupils who appeared to have been seriously dissatisfied with the general nature of the class activities. Reggie⁴ said he did not see how the subject matter of the experimental class had anything to do with problems of a democracy. He said, "If we had a textbook, we would learn more about problems of democracy." Marianne⁴ said that too many "unnecessary" things, such as observing church services, were done by the class and she thought "PAD was going to be sort of like history where you look up famous people." Jerald¹ said that the class had lost all value to him and that he did not see any reason for the activities. He reported that he did not see how the class activities would be very helpful to him when he went to college as the experimental class "is not very academic."

Except for these three students, no one indicated a basic dissatisfaction with the nature and purposes of the course. Moreover, Jerald¹ was the only pupil who appeared to have completely lost interest

in the class and to be indifferent to it. Other comments by students, whether involving praise, criticism, or a combination of both, indicated an interest and involvement in the progress and welfare of the class.

Examples of such comments are:

I like the way the class is being run. It is quite different from other classes. Most classes don't have discussions. They start from a book, but we start from the problems around us today. I think observing church services and comparing it with Plainville was good. (Tom²)

The students in the class treat each other well, sort of like brothers and sisters or one big happy family. But I felt sort of let down after the walkout. It seems we haven't had any real important work to do since then. Before that I was having a real active part in the class. I think we need to get on the ball and start the life histories. I'm ready to go. (Elbert³)

I believe the class is getting better. People who didn't want to participate do now. I think it's because everybody knows everybody better, and too, so far everything we have done is interesting, except Plainville. (Beth⁴)

We have wasted a lot of time lately. We could have finished the church reports and gotten the protest assignments out of the way. It seems like something is missing and we're not as active as before. Everything is not on schedule and not falling right. We need to get things that will set off an action or reaction. (Daphne⁵)

We have the freedom to say what we want in class, but when they overdo it it's awful to me. You shouldn't have to ask a student to report. The student should be willing to give what he has. . . . The assignments are very interesting, especially the one on the church. Our church does the same thing every Sunday and I just realized it. I realize now how regular it is and I noticed how people sit in church according to age. I never realized we could accomplish so much in this short a time. (Dolly²)

After the first interviews the class improved. It was together conversation wise and was interesting. Now the class seems broken up. There's a lot of small

conversations going on. If this was brought up to the class it would probably improve. The class is just not thinking about the noise. (Dan¹)

We have really progressed in understanding. Somebody on the outside might wonder what we are doing, but the people in the class know that what we are doing is describing and comparing our daily activities with others. When you compare yourself with others, you get a better understanding of yourself. (Jan²)

We communicate better in some respects than we did, and interviewing and discussing ourselves makes the class more interesting. You have the chance to speak your opinion and how you feel about things we discuss and find out more about other people. There isn't really anything to criticize about it. (Julia⁴)

The opposite side of the class don't seem to be talking too much. They could have an active part if they would open up. We should try to encourage them to talk about anything concerning the class. (Jane³)

We lost our teacher, I feel we are being neglected. We can't communicate with another teacher like we did Mr. Riley. Some of us are being very rude when the class has reporting. They interrupt people when they are giving their report. They should wait until they are finished. I think someone should mention this to the group and see what they say about it. (Claude³)

Everyday we come in and talk it helps me to understand better the things we are doing. Like I feel that I can interview in comfort instead of being nervous. It's helping more and more every day and it's all right. I'm with the class, whatever the class wants to do, I'll do. (Cecil²)

Five requests for field trips of various kinds, all of which would involve observation and comparison, were suggested. These requests were made by Carol⁴, Jeannette³, Diane³, Carl², and Dan¹. Most of the other suggestions simply asked for more of what the class was doing already. There were two requests for more instruction on assignments (Kay¹, Tina¹), three requests for more book reports (Marie⁴, Jan², Dan¹),

and three requests for Dr. Kline to play a more active part in the class (Dolly², Earlene⁴, Beth⁴).

In summary, there is considerable evidence to support the view that there was still substantial agreement among the class members in the three areas of consensus discovered in the first set of interviews. The class still was viewed as one in which the students could become involved, express themselves freely, and had some control over the direction of the class. It still was seen as unique in the sense that its major emphasis was on comparative analysis. Finally, the students saw the class as one in which the most important thing was not acquiring information, but learning certain research techniques by which new information might be gathered and synthesized.

In the midst of the many impingements from the external environment during the third and fourth time periods, there appeared to be a great deal more dissatisfaction with the class than in the first set of interviews. Some of the discontent expressed had to do with the relational system of the class and how it was not operating as the students apparently had come to expect. Other complaints dealt primarily with the class activities. Most of these complaints expressed dissatisfaction that the students were not engaging in enough activities inside and outside of class and that time was being wasted. Three students expressed discontent with the basic purposes of the class and one of these reported he had become completely indifferent to it. All of the other pupils indicated that they still were involved and interested, although some were pleased and others expressed concern over the developments in the class.

The Third Series of Interviews

The third set of interviews involved 22 of the 23 class members. Jeannette³, who dropped out of school just prior to the closing of Carver High, could not be located. All of the other pupils were contacted and interviewed by the observer at their new schools.

In the third interviews the observer was interested in finding out: 1) how, in retrospect, the students saw the nature, purposes, and goals of the class; 2) what the students thought they had learned from the experiences in the class; 3) what differences were seen by the students between the experimental class and the social studies classes in which they were currently enrolled; 4) what suggestions for improvements the students would give to others who wished to conduct a class of this nature; 5) whether or not each student felt satisfied with his part in the class; 6) how the pupils saw the regular adult personnel of the class.

All of the students except Tom², on looking back on their experiences in the experimental class, reported they saw it as a course in which looking at and understanding other ways of life and comparing them to one's own was an important goal and value. The expressions of the ideas about the importance of comparative analysis in the class were many and varied. As might be expected, some of the comments were more explicit than others and revealed a deeper understanding of cultural differences and the relationships between the past and the present within their own culture. As a group, the pupils' comments on this part of the course were more detailed and clearer than in the other two interviews. Examples follow of the differing manners in which various students expressed themselves on the comparative perspective

of the class:

One of the purposes of the class was to find out how our forefathers lived and compare it to our living. How the older generation did some of the things we do and how they don't like some of the things we do and it was to help us understand their views. . . . I learned people of other lands' cultures is a lot different from ours. (Marianne⁴)

I saw problems of other people--like the Irish--and how they lived with them or solved them and I learned that you have to learn to respect other's opinions and listen to them even when they are different. (Dan¹)

We were comparing life between people nowadays to about fifty years ago and looking at the possibilities for future life. . . . I learned how to compare ways of life--to accept the differences in life--to see that just because I live one way, it isn't necessarily the only way or the only right way. I learned to accept other ways of life even if they weren't the same as mine. (Jan²)

We looked at the Irish culture and compared the past and the present. This was all a part of observation and studying other ways of life and our own as well. (Jane³)

I learned a great deal about the different customs of other cultures. (Harry³)

The major purposes of this class were to interview parents and grandparents to see how times have changed from way back then and compare it to today. To compare the past and present in food, housing, the urban movement from the farm, and to see what we can tell about the future. Also to look at different cultures and compare them with ours. Dr. Kline talked about how one culture believes one thing and another another thing because what is right in one culture may not be right in another. (Earlene⁴)

I learned how tradition has influence on the present and the future and how tradition sometimes changes and how and why people feel as they do. (Kay⁺)

One major purpose was to understand how to get along with different races and societies. (Elbert³)

One of the purposes of the class was a comparison of our day and our grandparents'. Also to understand other peoples feelings about things and the things that might have influenced them. . . . You learned that your grandparents weren't the only ones who came up kind of a hard way and that there are others ways of life as well as your own. (Diane³)

The research skills of collecting and recording data were referred to in every interview. It appears that these skills were valued in different ways by the pupils. Harry³, Beth⁴, Tina¹, Claude³, Earlene⁴, and Reggie⁴ spoke of mastering these skills in terms of learning a method of research and of gathering and analyzing information. Jan², Dan¹, Cecil², Tina¹, Dolly², and Elbert³ referred to the importance of getting the interviewee to talk freely. The skill of making the interviewee comfortable, so that one could really get at what he feels and thinks was stressed by these five pupils. In a similar vein, Earlene⁴, Diane³, Tina¹, and Dolly² mentioned interviewing as a means of building social skills in order to relate more effectively to others and overcome one's shyness.

The learning of social skills as a result of the experimental class was mentioned by other pupils in relation to reporting and discussion activities. Kay¹, Cecil², Carol⁴, Reggie⁴, Julia⁴, Elbert³, Dan¹, and Beth⁴ made references to learning to express themselves more effectively and communicating more adequately with other people.

All of these references to social skills undoubtedly are tied up with the apparent attitude of virtually every student that the experimental class was one in which it was considered not only acceptable but desirable that everyone participate in the ongoing verbal activity of the class. The idea of the experimental class as one in which a

large amount of student talk was customary manifested itself at least once in every interview. Jane³ expressed it this way: "Everyone could communicate and there were no closed doors."

According to several pupils, one of the major purposes of the class was for each person to express his opinion on the topics being dealt with. Diane³, Jan², Julia⁴, Elbert³, Kay¹, Tom², and Jerald¹ made statements of this nature. Ten students, when comparing the experimental class with the social studies class in which they were currently enrolled, said that there was less opportunity for student participation in their new classes and that the new classes were not as free and open as the experimental class. These students were Earlene⁴, Carol⁴, Marie⁴, Marianne⁴, Tina¹, Kay¹, Elbert³, Julia⁴, Diane³, and Harry³.

Many of the other comments made in the interviews support the conclusion implied above that the students felt they had considerable freedom in the experimental class and an unqualified, standing invitation to involve themselves in the activities and direction of the class. Cecil², Kay¹, Marie⁴, Earlene⁴, Beth⁴, Dolly², Marianne⁴, and Carol⁴ said that the experimental class, unlike other classes, dealt with things that concerned the students directly, and that they were involved in and care about.

Jan², Jane³, Daphne², Dan¹, Claude³, and Marianne⁴ made references to the large amount of freedom the students had to make decisions in the class. It was mentioned several times that no one was forced to participate in the class activities if they did not want to, but that everyone seemed to be involved and interested anyway. Jerald¹, who

expressed dissatisfaction with the experimental class, listed as one of his major complaints that, "There was not force behind it. There was no force to do the work."

Seventeen of the pupils reported that they were satisfied with their part in the class. All except 2 of the 22 pupils interviewed interpreted this question as asking if they were as verbally active as they would have liked to have been. For example, Tina¹ and Jan², who were satisfied in this area, said that anyone could participate in the class discussions if they so desired. Marianne⁴ and Reggie⁴, two of the students who were not satisfied, blamed themselves for failing to speak out. Earlene⁴ said she was afraid that Jerald¹ and Carl² would "debate" her if she spoke out freely. Jerald¹ and Harry³, the other two pupils who expressed discontent with their part in the class, did not interpret the question in the same manner as the rest of the group. Harry³ said that he would have liked to have done more individual research work outside of the class. Jerald¹ reported that the class "had become dead to me" during the latter part of the year.

Suggestions given by the students for improving the course furnish more evidence that the students saw voluntary involvement and the absence of external control as essential characteristics of the experimental class. Kay¹ and Jane³ expressed concern that the students on the right side of the room did not participate as much as the other pupils. These two girls suggested that something should have been done to make these students feel involved and comfortable enough to want to participate more extensively. Carl² and Dan¹ said that if the class were tried again it would be a good idea to give the students

even more control over the class, since the experimental group had proved that this could work.

Other suggestions for improvement proposed doing more of the same kinds of activities which the class had engaged in over the term. For example, there were suggestions for more group work (Dan¹), more interviewing (Tina¹, Marie⁴), more observation (Tina¹) and more films (Jerald¹, Kay¹, Julia⁴). Some of the other suggestions would have the effect of modifying slightly the activities and organization of the class. These proposals included field trips for the purpose of observing and recording (Kay¹), using tape recorders to record church services (Cecil², Tom²), and fewer lectures (Reggie⁴, Elbert³). Beth⁴ and Claude³ said that any future classes like this one should be racially integrated.

Jerald¹ was the only pupil who suggested changing the general nature of the class. He said that he liked the class at his new school better and would make the experimental class more like it. The reason he gave was that he liked a class that dealt only with current events instead of looking at the present and the past. All of the other pupils except Reggie⁴ and Tom², both of whom indicated no preference, reported that they "liked" the experimental class better than the social studies class in which they were currently enrolled and that the experimental class was more interesting.

When the students were asked for suggestions to improve the course, seven said that they could think of none. These students were Diane³, Jane³, Daphne², Earlene⁴, Harry³, Marianne⁴, and Dolly². Dolly² did say that, "It was so good I really wouldn't have any suggestions, except maybe the class should be longer. It should be a two-hour class."

It should be mentioned that, as before, very little was said with respect to written work in the experimental class. No student mentioned that skill in writing was a purpose of the course; and only three pupils, Earlene⁴, Harry³, and Reggie⁴, referred to improvement in this area as part of the educational value of the class.

Only three pupils said anything in their interviews about outside research being an important part of the experimental class. These students were Carol⁴, Dan¹, and Jerald¹. The absence of references to the research purposes of the observer and Dr. Kline are congruent with the manner in which the pupils viewed the function of these two people in the class. The students' perceptions of Dr. Kline have been described in detail in Chapter V.¹ It remains to investigate how the observer was viewed by the pupils.

Some of the pupils indicated that they saw the observer's function as that of simply observing and recording what went on. Examples of such comments are:

You were an observer, listener and secretary. You took down a great deal of notes. (Julia⁴)

To me, you were sort of like a secretary, sort of like a recording secretary. (Carol⁴)

You recorded what we said. (Dan¹)

Your purpose was sort of like a class secretary because you kept notes. I saw you more as a secretary than a teacher. (Claude³)

There were those students who made statements indicating they saw the observer's role as some form of participation in addition to that of recording the happenings in the class:

¹Supra., pp. 94-97.

You were there to get to know the students personally in interviews. You recorded everything that went on and brought in some information. (Kay¹)

You were there to see how the class was being run, to keep a record of what you saw. You were trying to see if the class was interesting, if we were learning anything and giving anything to the class. (Daphne²)

Most of the time you took notes. When you talked you told about some of your experiences and how you felt about the course. (Elbert³)

Thus, it can be seen that in addition to observing and recording, some students saw the observer as someone who was there to facilitate the class and to make sure it was progressing adequately. The idea that the observer was there to contribute to the success of the class and to see that it was developing in the right way was stated by other students who saw her as having a similar relationship to the class as Dr. Kline. Examples of such statements are:

I saw you as an assistant of Dr. Kline. Maybe because Dr. Kline couldn't get to all of the students he brought you in to get to the ones he couldn't. You advised some of the kids and explained the subject to them. (Cecil²)

I guess you kind of served like Dr. Kline. I guess if you had seen it failing the idea would not have been taken any further. I guess two people observed instead of one to become more objective. (Jan²)

You were studying under Dr. Kline. You were observing the teaching techniques and the way the class responded to certain things to make sure they were working all right. (Jane³)

Of the 22 pupils interviewed, only Earlene⁴ and Beth⁴ indicated that the observer might be in the class for reasons other than simply recording what went on, and helping to make the class a success.

Earlene⁴ indicated that she thought the observer might be collecting information in order to compare the behavior of the students in the experimental class with the behavior of students in other classes. Beth⁴ said, "Was it some sort of experience for you? It seems like it was some sort of experience."

The students' perceptions of the second black instructor, Mr. Simmons, have been described in Chapter VII.² He was viewed as a student more than a teacher. He was accepted as an equal and a member of the group by most, but not by all students. The students' views of the first black instructor, Mr. Riley, have not been covered. It remains to make clear how the students in the class saw him.

There were no critical comments made about Mr. Riley. Most of the students indicated that they "liked" him and that he was accepted as a "good" teacher who had the respect of the students. Some of the comments indicated that several of the students had been acquainted with Mr. Riley prior to their enrollment in the experimental class. The following are some examples of statements made of Mr. Riley:

He was very nice. He understood everyone couldn't get what the others had. He was the type of person who was really helpful. He had a good sense of humor and put up with a lot. You don't find many teachers like him. (Dolly²)

I say you are not going to find any teachers like Mr. Riley. I'll call him the Cadillac of Teachers. (Claude³)

He was a wonderful teacher. He gave everyone a chance to say what he or she wanted to. He didn't limit the

²Supra., pp. 133-35.

topics. He takes his work seriously, but not too. He's easy to get along with. (Julia⁴)

He was a pretty good teacher, pretty good relationship with the students. (Tom²)

I feel he was one of the best teachers I have ever been acquainted with. I guess you might say he had rapport with the students. (Harry³)

Three students made remarks about Mr. Riley which are not represented by the above quotes. Dan¹ and Elbert³ made comments about him, which although not critical, compared him unfavorably with Mr. Simmons. Jerald¹ said Mr. Riley was similar to his present social studies teacher, whom he said he admired very much.

In the third and final series of interviews there were few negative comments about the class. However, Jerald¹ remained critical of the general nature of the course. Reggie⁴, who had been critical of the nature of the course during the second interview, was less so in the third set but was the only pupil who seemed to feel that he was not completely free to express his opinion. Marianne⁴, who had also been critical of the class during the second interview, had nothing but positive remarks about it in the last interview. All of the other pupils reported that they were pleased with their experience in the class and made no serious criticisms.

There were no significant changes in the students' perceptions of the nature and purposes of the experimental class. In the final set of interviews the three major areas of consensus remained the same as in the earlier interviews. In addition, another area of general agreement was revealed. All of the students seemed to view in a similar light all of the four adults who were part of the class. Mr. Riley

was regarded as a competent, understanding, and experienced teacher who was worthy of the respect of the students. Mr. Simmons was seen more or less as a peer of the students and was accepted by most of them as a member of the group. Dr. Kline was viewed as an interested advisor who was there to give his aid whenever it was needed and who had unique experiences to offer the class in areas which no one else knew about. The observer was seen by the students as someone who recorded the activities of the class and as being there to contribute to the progress and well being of the class.

Summary of the Three Interviews

As a group, the students' perceptions of the purposes and nature of the experimental class remained basically the same throughout all of the interviews. The class was seen as a unique experience, with one of the important differences between it and other classes being its comparative perspective. Another important difference seen by the pupils between the experimental class and other classes was the emphasis in the former upon learning research techniques, rather than upon the acquisition of a specified body of information. Next, the pupils saw the class as one in which their role was an active one, and their involvement and interest was high. They believed that student talk was invited and welcomed in the experimental class, but coercion was not a means to gain this end. Most of the pupils considered the learning of social skills and the opportunity to express oneself openly as major purposes or values of the course ranking on an equal basis with comparative analysis and learning research techniques. Finally,

a fourth area of general agreement among the students discovered in the final set of interviews was their view of the adult personnel of the class.

There was a distinct difference between the second set of interviews, on the one hand, and the first and last ones, on the other hand. There was a greater dissatisfaction expressed about the class in the second interviews than in the other ones. These criticisms dealt mostly with how the relational system of the class was not operating as the students had come to expect it to and with the progress of class activities. This discontent seemed to be related to external events: the student walkout and Mr. Riley's resignation.

With two exceptions, the students' perceptions of the class were congruent with those of the instructors'. The pupils did not appear to regard research on the students as being a very important aspect of the experimental class. However, this seemed to reveal little more than the observer and Dr. Kline were accepted as part of the group and not regarded as outsiders. The only difference in the viewpoints of the instructors and those of the students which proved to be an obstacle in fulfilling the goals of the course was in the area of writing skills. Both instructors had hoped that the students would do more writing than most of them did. The students, on the other hand, did not appear to regard written work as a very important part of the class.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter contains a summary of the knowledge gained about the development of the internal structure of the experimental problems of American democracy class through the use of event analysis. The relationships between these findings, the assumptions around which the class was organized, and the findings on the students' view of the class are described. In the latter part of the chapter the implications of this study are discussed and its limitations are indicated.

Summary and Conclusions

The problem of this study was to describe and analyze the internal structure of an experimental problems of American democracy class composed of twenty-four black students. The class was pedagogically concerned with investigating the present life style in the local black community and comparing it with ways of life remote in time and space. The method of investigation focused on comparative analysis and the natural history method, with the students collecting original data through observation, interviewing, and recording. The class operated according to a theory of control which suggested that the use of coercion was not consistent with the goals and activities of the experimental class. Consequently, it was believed the class projects could be carried out successfully only by voluntary efforts on the part of

the students in a situation in which they were informed completely about the nature and purposes of the class and shared in controlling its directions.

The structure and processes of the group, as they developed over time were analyzed within the framework of four time periods. For purposes of analysis the students were grouped according to the relative frequency of their participation in the verbal activities of the class. The divisions between the groups were made where the most dramatic differences appeared. There were four clusterings of students during all of the time periods except the fourth, in which there were five distinct groupings.

The classroom was viewed as a social system existing in a particular environment and was treated in terms of a number of inter-related components. These factors were isolated for the purpose of investigation, and their relationships to each other were explored. The major variables used in the analysis of the experimental class were: the nature of the relationships between the teachers and the students; the relationships within the student group; the kinds of activities engaged in; the topics of discussion; the time between planning and completing an activity; and the external environment.

When the internal structure of the group was analyzed in terms of the above variables it was found that certain conditions fostered, while others hindered, the kind of autonomous behavior implicit in the basic assumptions. The first condition which promoted the independent operation of the class was that a majority of its members be present. When less than half of the group members were present, it

was difficult to proceed with activities and in most cases no official activities were carried out. Secondly, it was found that certain topics were more conducive to self-directing behavior than others. As might be expected, broader participation occurred when the whole group shared some knowledge and interest in the topics than when only a few pupils were informed and involved. In research activities, a greater number of comparative discussions arose in connection with certain subjects than others. Topics which involved widespread comparative analysis were related to a high degree of independent action; the comparative discussions were often initiated by a pupil. In addition, research topics which were characterized by student autonomy usually had been planned well in advance, so that most of the pupils were ready to report their data the day the activity was scheduled to begin. If this condition was not fulfilled, problems were encountered in sustaining activity.

Homecoming at Carver High showed that external impingements could have an adverse effect on the autonomous operation of the class. During the last two days of homecoming week, the group was not able to continue its official activities even with the aid and encouragement of the teacher. Other events in the external environment took their toll on the internal operations of the experimental group, although not to the extent of homecoming. For example, evidences of social disintegration after the student walkout and after the first black teacher's resignation were present temporarily and were related to a lessened ability to carry out activities.

The relationship of the teacher to the class was a crucial factor relating to the development of student initiative and independence. It was found that a high level of student autonomy was related to a relatively small amount of verbal activity on the part of the teacher. Also, the students demonstrated more autonomy when the teacher avoided behaviors, such as imposing an order of participation, which placed the students in a subordinate position. A voluntary order of participation and less talk by the teacher were more likely to be the case when the teacher removed himself in space from the front of the room than if he stood at the podium or sat at his desk.

The students of the experimental class generally maintained a high level of autonomy throughout the term. The group was able to function adequately when the first black teacher was absent several times. Not only did the group prove able to independently sustain activities initiated by the teacher, but the class also demonstrated its ability to initiate new activities after terminating previous ones.

The degree of independence and self direction demonstrated by these students throughout the experiment is amazing in light of the external conditions within which the group was forced to operate. Twenty two class hours were lost because of events in the external environment which involved all or most of the pupils. This number does not include regularly scheduled vacation periods or teacher work days. In addition, throughout the term the issues related to the desegregation of the local schools and the simultaneous phasing out of Carver High existed as a disturbing factor. Toward the end of the term the disruptive influence of these issues increased when the

students became aware that they would be directly affected by the desegregation process in such a way that they would have to transfer to a new school in the middle of their senior year.

Possibly an even more drastic and immediate external force than the events related to desegregation was the loss of the first black teacher. Yet, the group's autonomy was not destroyed when it was thrown into disequilibrium by the resignation of this teacher, even though the second black teacher often behaved in ways which were not conducive to student control of the direction of class activities. Because of the actions of the second black teacher, the only means by which the group could retain its share of the control was to reject him as a teacher. Thus, during the fourth time period there was virtually no pupil-teacher relationship operating in the social system of the classroom. Nevertheless, the activities of the class continued to be carried out.

The students who were most active in resisting the second teacher's attempts to dominate the class were also those students who had a relatively high frequency of verbalization. These students were also most effective in maintaining the autonomy of the group when it was threatened by other external or internal conditions. They were able to get other students to respond to them so that they were successful in sustaining and initiating activities and in halting behavior which interfered with the operation of the class. Thus, in this group adequacy in social skills was related to the ability to be self directing and to effectiveness in fostering and defending a healthy social organization.

The independence demonstrated by the student group is even more surprising when one considers that not only were there many external impingements, but the class was in existence for only one-half of a school year. In the experimental class which was operated according to the general belief that control should not be externally imposed, a social organization developed among the students within a few months which had enough resilience and strength to maintain itself in the face of increasingly adverse conditions.

It is implied above that the kind of freedom enjoyed by the students of the experimental class was not associated with conditions of anarchy or rampant individualism. This freedom was in no way related to the absence of control or structure. The experimental class was structured, but this structuring was accomplished by the students and not imposed by a teacher. The structure of the class and a system of internal control grew out of the interest and involvement of the students in the activities and progress of the class. Since this was the case, the group could carry on even when the first black teacher, who was granted a position of authority by the students, was replaced by a person who was looked on as having little or no authority.

Throughout the term, not only were the pupils able to carry out activities in many cases without the presence of a teacher to initiate and sustain them, but in virtually all situations there was no need for the teacher to function in a custodial role. This was true regardless of which adult was in charge of the class. In each instance, the group regulated the behavior of its members. Had this not been

the case, the class might have been characterized by chaos after the arrival of Mr. Simmons, since he often had little success in getting the students to respond to him.

The development of the internal structure of the experimental class was intrinsically related to the degree of student interest and involvement in the activities and subject matter of the course. The starting points of this subject matter and these activities were things of immediate interest to the student--his life style, his family, his church, and his community. Thus, the topics of concern of the experimental class were matters in which the students were already involved. The subject matter did not have to be "made interesting" or "sugar coated" so that it would be palatable to the students. The intrinsic interest and involvement on the part of the students made a large contribution to the fulfillment of the course goals relating to control.

The above statements support the argument that teaching and learning should begin with the existing interests of the students, if a viable and autonomous student social organization is to develop in a classroom. At the same time, happenings in the experimental class help dispel the criticism that the immediate concerns of the students are too narrow and limited to serve as the base for learning. Indeed, the activities in which the pupils became most involved were not those which focused exclusively on the life of the pupils in the present, but were those which allowed a comparison of the experiences and beliefs of the pupils to those of others remote in time or space or both.

Related to the beliefs about the desirability of student autonomy and control was the idea that the students should be completely and continuously informed about the goals and progress of the class and about the actions of the instructors which affected them. Data from classroom observations reveal that this was done, particularly through talks by Dr. Kline. In light of this, it is not surprising that the data obtained through interviews with the students revealed that in most ways the students' perspectives of the goals and values of the course were essentially the same as those of the teachers. The data from the interviews, which enabled the researcher to construct a summary of the students' view of the class, provided additional information about the internal operations of the group.

As a group, the students saw the class as one in which the use of comparative analysis in studying human groups was a central part. The students agreed that another unique aspect of the class was that the collection of firsthand data through certain research techniques was the primary means by which the comparative study took place.

The analysis of the data obtained through observation give solid support to the conclusion that the assumptions relating to active and voluntary student participation in the direction of the class were made operational in most cases. The students' view of the class was congruent with these findings. The students believed that they had a considerable degree of freedom in the class, particularly in the area of self expression and with respect to carrying out class activities. Most of them regarded the improvement of social skills or simply getting everyone to talk as important goals and values of the course.

Since, unlike the observer, the students had not yet been trained thoroughly in the anthropological techniques by which group behavior is analyzed, they did not look at the situation in terms of what variables encouraged them to be self directing in class activities. They merely perceived that they had considerable freedom to participate or not to participate and in determining the structure and direction of the class.

The only goal which the students' behavior in class and in the interviews indicates they did not share fully with the teachers was the development of writing skills. The students were informed that the instructors wanted them to put all of their research reports in writing and that development of writing skills was a goal in the class. Nevertheless, the constant encouragement and attention given to oral expression and mastering research skills were not applied to writing. It is possible that many of the students had little interest or saw no need to write extensively in the experimental class. The students' attitude toward writing might have changed had the class continued and the assumption relating to the value of preserving folk history been made fully operational. That is, as the students became more deeply involved in research activities during the second half of the experiment and began to see that they were capable of producing documents of importance, the interest in writing might have increased.

The observer's analysis of the nature of the relationships between each of the three teachers and the students corresponds with the pupils' appraisal of them. These relationships appear to have

become stabilized very soon after the students came into contact with each of the instructors and to have become associated with certain customary behaviors.

The white teacher was seen as an advisor with a background of experience different from the other personnel of the class. An important aspect of his role was to share these experiences with the pupils so that they would have something to go on in carrying out their research tasks. It became a customary practice for the students to listen and for him to talk when he was in charge of the class. It was found that this pattern persisted even when the white instructor attempted to alter it.

The first black instructor was seen as the teacher of the class. His authority as a teacher was never challenged by the students and it was customary behavior to respond to him when he initiated action to the group.

The second black instructor was not invested by the students with the authority of a teacher. He was seen as an equal of the students and incorporated into the classroom group as a peer. The students treated this teacher as a student allowing him to participate in the activities by listening and responding to him when he wanted to share an experience or express an opinion. He was by no means, however, allowed to maintain exclusive control over the direction of the class.

Implications for Further Study

The students in the experimental class achieved a high degree of autonomy and were able to maintain their independence under increasingly

adverse circumstances. This situation occurred in a class which was operating under a theory of control which is at odds with that which is implicit in the bureaucratic organizational structure of the public school system in the United States today. The theory followed in the experimental class assumes that control in a group situation is a result of an involvement in and a commitment to the goals and activities of the group on the part of its members. Hence, control is not imposed in the group externally, but lies within its internal structure. The bureaucratic system is based on the idea that the establishment of control should precede the beginning of official learning activities in the classroom. It places a premium on order and maintaining adult authority so that the custodial and supervisory functions are dominant. Hence, control is imposed on the student group from without.

Under a system of external controls, there is little opportunity for the students to become autonomous and self directing. In light of the present nature of American society, it seems that it would be desirable for pupils to become self directing so that they might assume continually greater responsibility for their own education. A society that is characterized by rapid change calls for citizens to acquire the skills of continued learning. This, in turn, precludes an educational system in which the pupils are continually placed in a subordinate position and made dependent upon those who have authority over them.

The results of this research suggest that there is a viable alternative to the bureaucratic theory of control in the classroom. This alternative theory is based on the idea that effective social

control develops within the structure of a group rather than being imposed from without. However, this study was limited to one classroom and occurred over a relatively short period of time. Additional research is needed to investigate further the possibilities and issues implied in this research.

The present study is limited with respect to determining with any degree of reliability, the development of cognitive skills among the students. This deficiency suggests a fruitful area for further study. The only data available to the researcher, which contained evidence on the intellectual development of the students, were the verbal activities of the group and a few pieces of written work. Hence, although the oral and written work indicated increases in skills in collecting and organizing detailed information and in comparative analysis, the evidence is not sufficient to draw even the most tentative conclusions.

This study cannot suggest the maximum limits of the autonomy which a class might achieve operating under the assumptions guiding the experimental class. In addition to limitations imposed by time, other conditions were present which made it difficult to assess this factor. It is a fact that the class, in the absence of a teacher, initiated, sustained, terminated, and reinitiated activities. However, when the teacher was in the room it seemed to be expected by him and the students that he was supposed to initiate and terminate activities and to stimulate discussion when an activity faltered. It should prove fruitful to conduct research in similar classroom situations in which the role of the instructor is made explicit in the beginning so that the students are informed that in certain activities he will function

only as a participant. This would relieve the teacher of the responsibility of stimulating discussion during periods of hesitation and place it in the student group.

Comparative studies could be made in which the development of the internal structure of the experimental class is contrasted with that of classes based upon different assumptions about learning and control. It would be particularly interesting to do this with a class which experienced a change of teachers as did the one in this study.

More comparative research needs to be done on the relational systems of classes based upon the assumptions set forth in this study. This kind of investigation in different situations, with a variety of age and cultural groups, would help in clarifying further the components in the social system of the classroom which are significantly related to developments over time in the internal structure of the student group.

Finally, it would be profitable to investigate the means by which prospective teachers could be taught effectively the behaviors which are related to successfully establishing internal control in the classroom. With this goal in mind, an experimental program might be set up in a college of education. Students could be placed in laboratory situations in which they could observe and participate while skilled instructors demonstrated the processes by which group control is achieved. The novice teacher could see how it is possible to go about setting up effective channels for feedback which operate in both directions. They could also be shown how to go about interacting with

clients in carrying out classroom activities without placing them continually in the subordinate position.

This study revealed that events in the external environment could be important factors relating to the development of the structure and processes in the social system of the classroom. The external events which touched the experimental group were so numerous and varied, and their effects so apparent, that studies which focus on this variable are needed.

A complete listing of the external impingements which were manifested in the classroom over the term is presented in Appendix 2. This information and the data on the external environment in other parts of this study point to a specific area of the external environment which would be relevant for study in light of the widespread actions currently being taken to desegregate the public schools. The most numerous and prolonged impingements from the external environment were related to the events which arose in connection with the impending disappearance of Carver as a comprehensive high school in the black community. The potentially disruptive effects on the academic life of this school by the manner in which the desegregation of local schools was carried out were manifested in the microcosm of this classroom. Hence, questions about the consequences of closing a school against the wishes of its students and their parents is one which warrants immediate attention.

Other specific areas of study could include the relationships between what goes on in the classroom and various other activities within the school. Student activities, such as homecoming, and

administrative actions² such as using the loud speaker system and calling sudden and unexpected meetings during class time, appear to have important possible effects for the academic component of the school.

The relationship of the white teacher to the pupils of the experimental class may contain the germs of a model for teachers who work in schools serving children of different cultures. This relationship was based upon a frank recognition that the white instructor and the students were part of two vastly different cultural traditions, each of which warrants dignity and respect. Under such conditions, the differences in the life styles of the personnel of the class could be investigated and used to facilitate learning.

This kind of relationship enabled the pupils to view the white teacher as a person who had interesting and unfamiliar experiences he could share with them and who would aid them in carrying out their research tasks. In this situation, the students granted the white instructor the authority to initiate action to them and responded by listening and asking an occasional question. His right to address the class was never challenged. It was constantly reaffirmed when the group members quieted one another so that he might be heard.

An approach which involves an honest recognition of cultural differences based upon mutual respect, together with a willingness to explore these differences, is one means by which students and teachers of different cultures can relate to one another. This manner of interacting is one alternative to the approach which involves attempts

²For a description of external impingements related to administrative functions see Appendix 1.

by the school to impose its cultural standards on the pupils. Additional experimentation could be done in this area in order to make the nature and consequences of this kind of relationship more explicit.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CALENDAR OF DAILY CLASS ACTIVITIES-- SEPTEMBER 2, 1969, TO JANUARY 29, 1970

First Week

Tuesday, September 2	No class: student registration not complete.
Wednesday	Introduction to nature and purposes of class.
Thursday	Introduction to nature and purposes of class.
Friday	Assignment planned: write a brief life history.

Second Week

Monday, September 8	Life history assignment handed in. Assignment planned: observation of family food practices. Talk: eating patterns in different cultures.
Tuesday	Reports: family eating practices. Assignment planned: interview grandparents on eating habits of past.
Wednesday	No class: homeroom.
Thursday	Discussion: racial incidents occurring locally.
Friday	Discussion: problems encountered in writing life histories. Talk: summary of food reports and food traditions in rural Ireland.

Third Week

Monday, September 15	Reports: food habits of past.
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Tuesday	Reports: food habits of past. Talk: housing in rural Ireland and instruction in observation, interviewing, and recording.
Wednesday	Assignment planned: draw a diagram of a modern and old fashioned kitchen. Talk: patterns of activity in rural Irish family and instruction in observation.
Thursday	Talk: observation, interviewing, and recording.
Friday	Small group work: comparison of modern kitchen diagram.

Fourth Week

Monday, September 22	Student book reports.
Tuesday	Student book reports.
Wednesday	Attitudinal tests administered.* Assignment planned: list of important problems in American society.
Thursday	Reports: lists of problems.
Friday	Small group work: comparison of modern and old fashioned kitchen diagrams. Assignment planned: observation of family routine over a weekend.

Fifth Week

Monday, September 29	Reports: family routines. Practice observation.
Tuesday	Reports: family routines.
Wednesday	Reports: family routines.
Thursday	Reports: family routines.

*This activity was not mentioned in the body of this dissertation because it is not relevant to the present research.

Friday	Talk: helpful hints on taking Florida Senior Placement Test. Assignment planned: classify problems on master list.
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Sixth Week

Monday, October 6	No class: Florida Senior Placement Test.
Tuesday	No class: Florida Senior Placement Test
Wednesday	No school: professional meetings for teachers.
Thursday	Reports: classification of problems.
Friday	Talk: classification of problems. Assignment planned: interview grandparents on problems of past.

Seventh Week

Monday, October 13	Reports: problems of past.
Tuesday	No class: homeroom.
Wednesday	Reports: problems of past.
Thursday	Reports: problems of past. Optional assignment planned: observe homecoming parade at nearby university.
Friday	No school: teacher work day.

Eighth Week

Monday, October 20	Discussion: homecoming parade, Vietnam War, and related issues.
Tuesday	Reports: problems of past.
Wednesday	Talk and discussion: redefinition of purposes and nature of class.
Thursday	Written assignment planned: comparison of local life in past and present.

Friday

Talk: some farming traditions in the United States.

Ninth Week

Monday, October 27

Discussion: questionnaire on "alienation."

Tuesday

Discussion: questionnaire on "alienation."

Wednesday

Talk: feedback from first set of interviews.

Thursday

Reports: small group spokesman to class.

Talk: principles of feedback and control in relation to the class.

Friday

Assignment planned: interview two people about Federal court decision ordering immediate desegregation.

Discussion: the desegregation decision.

Tenth Week

Monday, November 3

Films: Africa.

Tuesday

Reports: Federal court decision.

Wednesday

Reports: Federal court decision.

Thursday

Reports: Federal court decision.

Discussion: homecoming past and present.

Friday

No official class activity: homecoming Friday.

Eleventh Week

Monday, November 10

Assignment planned: observe family's activities on Thanksgiving Day.

Assignment planned: observe two church services.

Assignment planned: read two chapters
in Plainville, USA.

Talk: life styles and instruction on church observation.

Tuesday	Talk: life styles and instruction on church observation.
Wednesday	Talk: life styles and instruction on church observation.
Thursday	No official class activity: Armed Services Test
Friday	No school: teacher work day.

Twelfth Week

Monday, November 17	Student book report. Talk: human groupings and communication networks.
Tuesday	Discussion: summary of recent activities. Discussion: specialists in the church.
Wednesday	Assignment planned: report of methods of data collection and problems in doing research.
Thursday	Reports: methods and problems.
Friday	Reports: methods and problems.

Thirteenth Week

Monday, November 24	No class: meeting of student body.
Tuesday	No school: student walkout.
Wednesday	No school: student walkout.
Thursday	No school: Thanksgiving holidays.
Friday	No school: Thanksgiving holidays.

Fourteenth Week

Monday, December 1	No school: student walkout.
Tuesday	No school: student walkout.
Wednesday	No school: student walkout.
Thursday	No school: student walkout.

Friday No school: student walkout.

Fifteenth Week

Monday, December 8	No school: student walkout.
Tuesday	No school: student walkout.
Wednesday	No school: student walkout.
Thursday	No school: student walkout.
Friday	Assignment planned: questions on nature and purposes of walkout.

Sixteenth Week

Monday, December 15	Reports: Thanksgiving.
Tuesday	Reports: Thanksgiving. Reports: church.
Wednesday	Class requested and was granted permission to go to library.
Thursday	Discussion: vandalism at Carver High.
Friday	Talk: summary of Thanksgiving and church reports. Assignment planned: collection of data on celebration of Christmas today and in past.

Saturday, December 20 No school: Christmas holidays.
through Sunday, January 4

Seventeenth Week

Monday, January 5	Discussion: religious and historical significance of Christmas.
Tuesday	Assignment planned: final notebook.
Wednesday	Reports: Christmas past and present.
Thursday	No class: field trip for seniors.
Friday	Reports: Christmas past and present.

Eighteenth Week

Monday, January 12	Reports: Church.
Tuesday	Reports: Church.
Wednesday	Reports: Church.
Thursday	Reports: Church.
Friday	Discussion: Recent court decision on deadlines for school desegregation.

Nineteenth Week

Monday, January 19	Reports: special summaries on church.
Tuesday	Student book report.
Wednesday	Discussion: student walkout.
Thursday	No official class activities: counselor talks to students about college applications.
Friday	Discussion: student walkout and desegregation.

Twentieth Week

Monday, January 26	No official class activities: nothing planned.
Tuesday	Discussion: birth control.
Wednesday	Discussion: birth control.
Thursday	Discussion: drugs.
Friday	No school: cancelled by county officials.

APPENDIX 2

THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT: AN OVERVIEW

Since the external environment loomed as such an important component in the development and change of the internal structure of the class at several points in time, it should be helpful to describe all of the important impingements from the outside which bore a discernible relationship to the relations existing in the group. In this presentation a few events which have not been treated earlier are included.

Encroachments from the external environment took many forms. In the first place there were those disruptions of the group which took the form of sudden and unexpected cancellation of officially scheduled class meetings. Twice during the year on September 10 and October 14, administrative personnel decided that the first period would be used as a homeroom period so that all twelfth grade pupils would meet in the auditorium for certain purposes. These meetings were in addition to a regularly scheduled homeroom meeting which occurred daily for a half hour and brought all members of a particular grade level together at one time.

Another sudden disruption of class activities occurred with the student walkout on Tuesday, November 25, but because of a meeting of the student body there was no class on the previous Monday either. School resumed on Friday, December 12, after an interruption of twelve school days; but even then, official activity did not begin in the

experimental class until almost 9:15 a.m. because of the necessity of validating "excuses" and for other reasons. On both that Friday and the following Monday noise in the hall outside of the room where the experimental class was meeting created minor difficulties in the group's attempt to carry out its activities. Finally, the following Wednesday, December 17, the class requested permission to go to the library during first period because of the pressure from other teachers to make up before the Christmas holidays all work missed during the walkout.

A final sudden cancellation of an officially scheduled class meeting happened as a result of some violent incidents in and around Carver High at the close of the school day, Thursday, January 29. School was cancelled abruptly, which meant that the experimental class had no official termination; Friday was to be the last day Carver was to be open, but it closed on Thursday.

Both the walkout and the abrupt cancellation of the last day of classes at Carver were parts of larger events in the external environment which were related to events occurring in the experimental class during most of the term. The Federal court decision ordering an end to dual school systems in the South and desegregation of the local schools by the beginning of February, along with the resultant actions of local school officials, were related in many ways to the progress and nature of class activities as well as to the relational system of the group. These interrelationships are evident throughout much of the material presented in Chapters III through VII. However, it does need to be emphasized here that the ultimate effect of these external

forces on the experimental class was to bring about a complete disintegration of its social system. The new school was not prepared to continue the experimental problems of American democracy class.

Impingements from the external environment also took the form of outside activities which were scheduled in advance and which claimed all or part of the members of the group so that the internal structure was so affected that it was difficult or impossible for activities to continue. The inroads made on the internal operations of the class by homecoming events have been treated extensively in Chapters IV-VII. Not only did these events have the effect of removing several pupils from the class during the last three days of the week, but on Thursday and Friday the students remaining were largely uninterested and unwilling to engage in the planned activities of the class.

Other examples of regularly scheduled school activities which resulted in extensive absences during the class meetings were the administering of the Florida Senior Placement Test on October 5 and 6, a meeting between some of the students at Carver and the Superintendent of Schools on October 14, the administering of the Armed Services Test on November 10, and field trip taken by all senior English students on January 8, and a meeting of some of the twelfth-grade pupils and a guidance counselor on January 22, so that the students could be advised on how to fill out college applications. The Florida Senior Placement Test and the field trip involved all of the class members. During the Armed Services Test and the meeting of the students and the counselor, less than ten students were present in class, so that no official activity took place. Fourteen students were present

in class and official activities continued when the meeting with the Superintendent occurred. In the following class meeting, however, many pupils were unable to participate fully in class activities because they had not been informed of the research task of interviewing an adult on problems of the past.

Another kind of impingement from the external environment was the involvement of Mr. Riley in organizing and conducting the "Americanism versus Communism" course. His involvement in this activity lasted from Monday, November 10, the beginning of the eleventh week, until Tuesday, December 16, the beginning of the sixteenth week, which was also Mr. Riley's last week with the experimental class. During this period he was absent from class seven of the fourteen times the class met and engaged in official activities.

Mr. Riley's absence did not appear to disrupt class activities or inhibit seriously the progress of the group. However, during the eleventh and twelfth weeks, when he was absent for four consecutive days, no research activities were planned so that the students had no base from which to play an active part in the class meetings. Dr. Kline was left with the responsibility of conducting the class. Because of the general reluctance of the group to engage in extensive verbal activity while Dr. Kline was in front of the class, the pupils mainly functioned as passive listeners during these four days. Moreover, Dr. Kline did not need four whole class periods to clarify and provide information on the research task involving the church. Hence, once he terminated activity before the bell rang when none of the students had anything further to say, and once he initiated action to begin

small group work in order to encourage active participation on the part of the students.

Mr. Riley's participation in teaching the "Americanism versus Communism" course was related to events occurring in the experimental group in other ways than just the fact that he was not present during many class meetings. All of the students in the experimental class took the "Americanism versus Communism" course at some time during the day. Complaints were made by the students to Mr. Riley during the first period about what they considered an excessive amount of work in the course, particularly since they still had English homework to do. Moreover, on a few occasions, some students worked on the homework for the "Americanism versus Communism" course during the experimental class.

The sudden change in personnel after the Christmas vacation period also was a happening which originated in the external environment and was related to important changes in the internal operations of the class. The interrelationships between this external event and the experimental class were complex and far reaching. They involved among other things a new teacher and a change in the nature of the relationships between the pupils and the teacher. These and other manifestations of the cessation of interaction between the class and Mr. Riley and Mr. Riley's replacement by Mr. Simmons were described in detail in Chapters VII and VIII.

Finally, another kind of external interference was the immediate stimuli which impinged on the group as it went about engaging in its daily activities. These were impingements such as outside observers

and other people coming into the room for various reasons. Frequently, people such as janitors, students on errands, and other teachers entered the room during class meetings, but neither they nor the outside observers ever caused a serious disruption of the ongoing activities.

Another such immediate external encroachment was the intercom or loudspeaker system in each classroom. The first and second weeks of school brought frequent interruptions of this kind and during the first week the interruptions were rather lengthy. From the third through the ninth week the frequency of these announcements by administrative personnel was an average of three per week with only a total of three of them lasting over one minute. During the tenth week, in which the homecoming events took place, the intercom was used more frequently and twice the speaker went on for more than ten minutes. The eleventh and twelfth weeks brought a decline in the length, but not the frequency of these interruptions. There was no school during the thirteenth and fourteenth weeks because of the student walkout. School was reopened on Friday of the fifteenth week. The loudspeaker was used three times on that day, including one proclamation which lasted for six minutes. The following week the frequency of interruptions from the use of the intercom by administrative officials reached an all time high of thirteen, with one lasting seven minutes. During the time from the end of the Christmas holidays until the closing of Carver High School, the frequency of loudspeaker announcements during first period was at a low ebb. Interruptions averaged only two a week during this four week period. Only two of these announcements

lasted for more than one minute, and these two were two minutes in length. Over the twenty weeks the experimental class was in operation the observer's records indicate that the loud speaker was used a total of eighty one times or on the average of four times a week during the first hour of the school day.

Generally, the brief announcements served the purpose to inform, direct, and summons various people to an administrative office. Even when only one individual was being summoned all classrooms were tuned in on the loudspeaker system instead of only the one in which that particular individual was supposed to be. These shorter announcements occurred at no special time during the class period.

The longer announcements almost always occurred at the beginning of the period. Their purposes were to welcome the students after they had returned to school after a vacation and to exhort them to follow the rules and policies of the schools, to chastise verbally those who were not doing so, and to make threats about what would happen if the disapproved behavior continued. Greetings over the intercom came at the beginning of school, after the walkout, and after the Christmas holidays. The other messages were often like sermons and occurred during the first, third, seventh, tenth, and sixteenth weeks; and some of these speeches occurred at the same time the students were being welcomed back to school. Examples of parts of these longer announcements are given below. The following statements were made by an administrative official at Carver over the loudspeaker system on the days indicated:

I wish to welcome all students who were in Carver High School last year or in previous years back to school and to also welcome the

new students who are here for the first time. School is a challenge and the teachers and the administration will provide the best educational experience possible. . . . School is not vacation time. You have had your vacation time and I hope you enjoyed it. There is to be no loitering in the halls, nor near the lunchroom, and you will go to the lunchroom with your teacher. Students that leave the classroom must have a hall pass. This is a closed campus. It is not permitted to leave it. . . . Insubordination is not tolerated; nor is smoking, disrespect to teachers, nor profanity or cursing. All shirts must be inside of trousers at all times. And teachers will check students before they leave the classroom. Fighting brings an automatic suspension. This means that all these rules start today and not tomorrow. . . . We truly hope that you will have a wonderful year and that you will improve yourself in order to take your place in this complex society. Work diligently, obey your teachers and you will have made a worthwhile contribution. (September 3)

There has been a breakdown at this school in terms of the respect of the students for each other and the teachers. Many have done right, but many haven't. There has been profanity, other incidents, and tardiness. . . . Be agreeable. Don't cut in the lunchline or fold your money in the lunchroom. Don't play with other's food. Those who continue to do these things will be dealt with harshly. . . . All teachers will mark those people absent who are late, and five tardies will mean failure for the grading period. . . . I am fully aware that there are some who don't want to follow regulations. They will be dealt with accordingly. We are asking you to work with us to make this school a good place, where students who want to learn can learn (October 15)

We are hoping that we will not have any incidents Thursday or Friday. There were some who attended the homecoming coronation who tried to start something. If we have to sign a warrant for your arrest we will. Believe me, we will not hesitate to sign a warrant for the arrest of anyone if it is necessary. . . . I would like to apologize for the appearance of some people at the coronation who don't know any better than to come to an affair of this magnitude in rags. I'm not

addressing those people who can't do any better, but those I saw have looked better going to the bean fields. . . . I repeat, if anything happens at . . . I will sign a warrant for the arrest of the troublemakers. (November 6)

Friday we asked you to get back to the business at hand. Now we find it necessary to ask you to go back and think of things we have said to you in the past. You are getting back into the same old rut you were in before the walkout. We want you to follow the dress code and look decent in class. Many boys are wearing hats inside of the building and we ask them not to. This shows disrespect to the female counterparts in the building. There have been any number of fights since you returned and we want this stopped immediately (December 16)

When the long announcements came at the beginning of the class meeting they had the effect of delaying the initiation of class activities. Otherwise, the intercom announcements had no observable effects on the internal structure of the class. The classroom personnel appeared to ignore them almost completely as they never ceased their ongoing activity to listen to these declarations. This indifference to the loudspeaker system was indicated by the lack of response of the group to a request over the system that the observer come to the main office to receive a telephone call. No one in the class, including the observer, was aware that her name was being called, even though she made a note of the fact that the intercom had been used during that class meeting. The observer was informed after the class was over that she had received the call.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Michael S. Littleford was born May 9, 1943, at Lake Wales, Florida. In June, 1961, she was graduated from Frostproof High School in Frostproof, Florida. In December, 1964, she received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Education with a major in secondary school social studies from the University of Florida. From January, 1965, until February, 1968, she was a teacher in the public school system of Florida and was located first in Marion County and later in Broward County. She enrolled as a graduate student at the University of Florida in January, 1965, and worked part-time on the degree of Master of Education, which she received in August, 1967. In September, 1968, she enrolled in the University of Florida as a full-time graduate student to work toward the degree of Doctor of Education with a major in social and philosophical foundations of education. She was awarded a graduate fellowship for the first year of her doctoral program. During the second year, September, 1969, to August, 1970, she worked as an instructor in the Department of Foundations of the College of Education at the University of Florida.

Michael S. Littleford is married to James Allen Littleford. She is a member of Phi Kappa Phi and Kappa Delta Pi.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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